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SCENES
from the Life of
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN



Louis A. Holman





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SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN



THE FRANKLIN UNION

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

BY
LOUIS A. HOLMAN

REPRODUCTIONS OF PAINTINGS
BY CHARLES B. MILLS
IN THE FRANKLIN UNION, BOSTON



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SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

PREFACE

THE paintings which form the subject of this volume constitute the frieze in the entrance hall of the Franklin Union Building on Berkeley Street in Franklin's native town, Boston. It is fitting that reference should be made to the fund which has produced Franklin Union and to the work which this institution is accomplishing. No better description could be given of the origin of the bequest than that penned by Franklin himself in the codicil of his will written in June, 1789, from which the following paragraphs are selected.

"It having long been a fixed political opinion of mine, that in a democratical State, there ought to be no Offices of Profit, for the reasons I had given in an Article of my drawing in our Constitution, it was my intention when I accepted the Office of President* to devote the appointed Salary to some public Uses, . . . I do hereby . . . direct that the certificates I have for what remains due to me of that Salary be sold towards raising the Sum of Two thousand Pounds Sterling, to be disposed of as I am now about to order."

"I was born in Boston, New England and owe my first instructions in Literature, to the free Grammar Schools established there: I have therefore already considered those Schools in my Will.† But I am also under obligations to the State of the Massachusetts, for having unasked appointed me formerly their Agent in England with a handsome Salary: which continued some years: and altho' I accidentally lost, in their service, by transmitting Governor Hutchinson's Letter much more than the amount of what they gave me, I

* Of Pennsylvania.

† Franklin Medals.

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do not think that ought in the least to diminish my Gratitude.

“I have considered that among Artisans good Apprentices are most likely to make good Citizens, and having myself been bred to a manual Art Printing, in my native Town, and afterwards assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia by kind loan of Money from two Friends there, which was the foundation of my Fortune, and of all the utility in life that may be ascribed to me, I wish to be useful even after my Death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men that may be serviceable to their Country in both those Towns.

“To this End I devote Two thousand Pounds Sterling, which I give, one thousand thereof to the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in Massachusetts, and the other thousand to the Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia, in Trust to and for the Uses, Interests and Purposes hereinafter mentioned and declared.

“The said sum of One thousand Pounds Sterling, if accepted by the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the Select Men, united with the Ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in that Town; who are to let out the same upon Interest at five per cent per Annum to such young married artificers, under the Age of twenty-five years, as have served an Apprenticeship in the said town; . . . And in order to serve as many as possible in their Turn, as well as to make the Repayment of the principal borrowed more easy, each Borrower shall be obliged to pay with the yearly Interest, one tenth part of the principal, which Sums of Principal and Interest so paid in, shall be again let out to fresh Borrowers. And as it is presumed that there will always be found in Boston virtuous and benevolent Citizens willing to bestow a part of their Time in doing good to the rising Generation by Super-

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intending and managing this Institution gratis, it is hoped that no part of the Money will at any time lie dead or be diverted to other purposes, but be continually augmenting by the Interest, . . .

“If this plan is executed and succeeds as projected without interruption for one hundred Years, the Sum will then be one hundred and thirty-one thousand Pounds of which I would have the Managers of the Donation to the Town of Boston, then lay out at their discretion one hundred thousand Pounds in Public Works which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants such as Fortifications, Bridges, Aqueducts, Public Building, Baths, Pavements or whatever may make living in the Town more convenient to its People and render it more agreeable to strangers, resorting thither for Health or a temporary residence. The remaining thirty-one thousand Pounds, I would have continued to be let out on Interest in the manner above directed for another hundred Years, as I hope it will have been found that the Institution has had a good effect on the conduct of Youth, and been of Service to many worthy Characters and useful Citizens. At the end of this second Term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation the sum will be Four Millions and Sixty one thousand Pounds Sterling, of which I leave one Million sixty one Thousand Pounds to the Disposition of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston and Three Millions to the disposition of the Government of the State, not presuming to carry my views farther.”

“Considering the accidents to which all human Affairs and Projects are subject in such a length of Time, I have perhaps too much flattered myself with a vain Fancy, that these Dispositions, if carried into execution, will be continued without interruption, and have the Effects proposed: I hope, however, that if the Inhabitants of the two Cities should not

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think fit to undertake the execution they will at least accept the offer of these Donations as a Mark of my good-Will, a token of my Gratitude and a Testimony of my earnest desire to be useful to them even after my departure. . . .”

Owing to changing industrial conditions, the provision for letting out the money to young artificers did not meet with the success Franklin anticipated and since 1836 the fund has been cared for by ordinary investment. Virtuous and benevolent citizens have not been lacking and at the end of one hundred years, on July 1, 1891, the total fund amounted to \$391,168.68. This fund, which was less than that estimated by Franklin, was divided and the two parts proportioned according to the will. On October 20, 1893, the City of Boston's portion was adjudged to be \$322,490.20 (Franklin Fund, first part), while on June, 1902, the balance to remain on interest for one hundred years after 1891 was \$102,455.70 (Franklin Fund, second part). It became necessary to ask the Supreme Court to construe Franklin's will, which resulted in the appointment of a Board of Managers by the Court, consisting of twelve “citizens,” including the mayor and the ministers as specified in the will. By Chapter 569, of the year 1908, the Massachusetts Legislature incorporated the Board as The Franklin Foundation.

An industrial school seemed in the judgment of the managers to be the public work of most general utility to the inhabitants of Boston. The building and equipment is the result of this bequest of Benjamin Franklin, the land on which the building stands being provided by the City of Boston, and the first step toward a maintenance fund being in the form of a donation by Mr. Andrew Carnegie of \$408,000, an amount equal to the first part of the Franklin Fund in December, 1905.

The building was completed in 1908 at a cost of \$364,000.

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An additional sum of \$61,000 has since been expended for equipment. Franklin Union was opened for students in September, 1908, with a registration of five hundred and fourteen (514) men, handled by thirteen (13) instructors. The growth of the school has been exceptionally rapid, in 1915 reaching fifteen hundred and eighty-seven (1587) students and fifty-five (55) instructors. During the first seven years, over eight thousand different men enrolled as students. The instruction is intended to supplement the work of men employed in the trades or industries, with subjects selected from the fields of civil engineering, industrial chemistry, electricity, drafting, naval architecture, machine design, pharmacy, automobile engines and steam engineering. The average age of the students enrolled has been over twenty-five years, several years the senior of the graduates of college or technical school. A most complete engineering and scientific equipment in the hands of experts selected from the industries, and from the staffs of the neighboring technical schools, enables Franklin Union to make men more efficient in their work, to improve their skill, intelligence and earning power, and thus to bring benefit to their families, to their employers and to the community.

The mottoes accompanying the paintings are, with one exception, from the writings of Franklin. They are as follows:

“He that hath a Trade hath an Estate.”

“The found of your Hammer at five in the morning or nine at night heard by a Creditor makes him easy six months longer.”

“It has ever been a Pleasure to me to see Good Workmen handle their tools.”

“When men are employed they are best contented.”

“Every act of Oppression will Sour their Tempers lessen greatly if not Annihilate the Profits of your Commerce with

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them and Haften their final Revolt for the seeds of Liberty are Univerfally found there and Nothing can Eradicate them.”

“They that won’t be Counfelled cannot be helped.”

“Those who would give up Effential Liberty for a little Temporary Safety deferve neither Liberty nor Safety.”

“We muft all Hang Together or Affuredly we fhall all Hang Separately.”

“Without Juftice Courage is Weak.”

“One whom all Europe held in high Eftimation for his Knowledge and Wifdom who was an Honor not to the Englifh nation only but to Human Nature.”— *Lord Chatham*.

“The Nobleft Queftion in the World is what Good may I do in it.”

“I would rather have it said He Lived Ufefully than He Died Rich.”

“Being Ignorant is not fo much a Shame as being Unwilling to Learn.”

“The Doors of Wifdom are never fhut.”

“Read much but not too many Books.”

“I hope the Peace may be lafting and that the free Conftitution we now enjoy may long contribute to promote our common Felicity.”

“May we never see another War! for in my opinion there never was a good War or a bad Peace.”



FRANKLIN SELLING BALLADS ON THE STREETS OF BOSTON

FRANKLIN THE BOY

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was a product of Boston in every sense of the word. He was born here, January 17 (N. S.), 1706, in a little wooden house on Milk Street. Just across the way stood the Old Cedar Meeting House, replaced a few years after Franklin left Boston by the present "Old South." Here, on the day of his birth, he was baptized. It was in the Puritan Boston of the early eighteenth century that Franklin spent his boyhood; then, happily, too late to feel the bitter intolerance of that earlier Boston which had banished non-conformists and executed Quakers and witches. His home was a happy one and wisely ordered. Of luxury there was none, but Franklin assures us that of the needful things there was always a plenty. Attention was paid to the head as well as to the heart; there was good cheer at all times. As Franklin was the fifteenth child in the family (with two yet to come), he was no novelty and ran small chance of being spoiled. It is an interesting thing to note, since Franklin is often spoken of as one of the best educated men of the time, that his school education began at the Boston Grammar School, when he was eight years of age, and that Master George Brownell put the finishing touches on it when he was ten. Short as was his school career, it was fresh in Franklin's mind when he made his will many years later, for he says therein: "I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in Literature to the free Grammar Schools established there: I have therefore considered these Schools in my Will." Thousands of the "best scholars" of the Boston schools have received the much

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coveted silver medals which Franklin's generosity provided. These medals still serve with each generation to keep green the memory of one of the most famous of Boston school-boys.

After leaving school, where he made a pitiable showing in mathematics, he worked as his father's assistant in the tallow-candle business for about two years. Then, at the mature age of twelve, he signed apprentice indentures with his brother James, who was editor and publisher of *The New England Courant*, America's fourth newspaper. James showed himself jealous and thrifty rather than brotherly in his relations with, perhaps, the most valuable apprentice that master printer ever had; while the boy, on his part, was impertinent, wise beyond his years, and thoroughly convinced of his own importance. It was not an enviable situation for either brother. Finally, when he had served his brother about two-thirds of the specified time, the apprentice in no very dignified manner brought the affair to an abrupt end by running away.

Although Boston had had her son Franklin in her keeping less than eighteen years, she nourished him and made him what he was. She was, indeed, his *alma mater*, and when he left her the formative period of his life was past, and he went forth, with all his virtues and his faults, a mature man in everything but years. This was in 1723, a decade before Washington was born. Thus, while the first sovereign of the House of Brunswick was struggling to pronounce in English the names of his new possessions, a runaway 'prentice boy of His Majesty's colony of Massachusetts Bay was already developing into a leader of the men who were to wrest from the king's great-grandson a large share of the royal dominion.

"Franklin upon the whole," says his biographer, James Parton, "spent a very happy boyhood, and his heart yearned toward Boston as long as he lived. When he was eighty-two

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years old, he spoke of it as 'that beloved place.' He said in the same letter that he would dearly like to ramble again over the scenes of so many innocent pleasures; and as that could not be, he had a singular pleasure in the company and conversation of its inhabitants. 'The Boston manner,' he touchingly adds, 'the turn of phrase, and even the tone of voice and accent in pronunciation, all please and seem to revive and refresh me.' " The Franklin Institute, the gift of a grateful son to his native place, bears eloquent testimony to the sincerity of these words of Franklin. He returned to Boston in 1724 to consult with his father, and again visited his native place in 1733, 1743, 1753, 1763. He saw it for the last time from Cambridge in 1775.

When Franklin was about fifteen and had been an apprentice some three years, his brother James saw a chance to use the lad in a way not nominated in the bond, but agreeable to both parties. It promised to feed their vanity and fill their pockets. This was that the boy should indulge the family fondness for rhyming, of which he had given evidence some seven years before, and write ballads upon current events. These were to be printed and sold on the street by himself. There was abundant precedent for this, if Franklin even in his youth ever felt the need of such support. At that time in America and England ballad writing and selling was a lucrative adjunct of the printer's trade. The products of the pen of a Bostonian named Fleet were so popular in Franklin's day that he derived from them alone sufficient remuneration to support his family. Franklin's grandfather, Peter Folger, and his Uncle Benjamin used very frequently to dispense wisdom in sugar-coated pills of pious rhyme. Their young kinsman may have felt that from both sides of the house he inherited the ability to produce acceptable ballads. In any case he summoned the tragic muse and wrote two ballads. A verse from one of these, recounting the capture

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of the famous pirate, Edward Teach (Blackbeard), is given in Weems's "Franklin." It reads:

"Come all you jolly sailors,
You all so stout and brave;
Come hearken and I'll tell you
What happen'd on the wave.
Oh! 'tis of that bloody Blackbeard
I'm going now for to tell;
And as how by gallant Maynard
He soon was sent to hell —
With a down, down, down, derry down."

The other was entitled "The Light-house Tragedy." Of it we unfortunately have not so much as a line, but even without this doubtless conclusive evidence we are prepared to accept Franklin's own statement that both ballads were "wretched stuff."

Parton says that Franklin inherited the family propensity for rhyming but that he also inherited "the family inability to rhyme well."

Although the Blackbeard ballad was not a "best seller," the other one went off rapidly. Naturally the boy was delighted. But his father pointed out that "verse-makers were generally beggars," and he showed him that in the long run he would be better off in mastering a good prose style rather than in writing doggerel ballads. To the credit of the youth be it said that he looked the matter squarely in the face and followed his father's advice. The world owes Josiah Franklin a thousand thanks for what it gained in Franklin's prose — and for what it was spared of Franklin's verse.

The first painting in Mr. Mills's series shows the boy Franklin offering his ballads for sale in front of the Town House (Old State House) on Washington Street, then known

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as Cornhill. As the earliest authentic portrait of Franklin was painted when he was fifty, the portrait here is wholly imaginary, yet we can well believe that the face of the boy before us would develop all the characteristics of the Franklin face that we know so well.

Careful research and faithful adherence to the data found render the costumes in this painting as well as those in all of the series historically correct. The little shoulder capes and full skirts, marked features of the women's dress of that day, are shown here. The matronly lady in the hood is glancing at Franklin as he "cries his wares," or perhaps she is attracted by the younger woman's smart straw hat, for "straws" were then "just coming in."

On the side of the State House may be seen the Bulletin Board for posting notices of the sailing of ships. Although bears were still shot from Long Wharf as they swam across the harbor, we read that almost every day now some sort of craft entered and cleared the port of Boston, while about once a week there was an arrival from England. The town, which contained about 12,000 persons, was essentially an English town. It held two great fairs annually and did not forget to honor the King's Birthday in May nor to rejoice over the arrest of Guy Fawkes in November. The much-talked-of cows that had assisted in laying out Boston's streets were already things of the past, but real cows, that of the Franklin family among them, grazed uninterruptedly on the historic Common.

The escort of the lady who is casting envious glances at the new straw hat is apparently reading the titles of the books in the window of John Checkley's book-store — for this probably was his store. Boston, even in that early day, was fond of books and supported about ten book-stores. Old Cornhill was the centre of the trade. Daniel Henchman's store on the corner of King (now State) Street may be seen in the painting. He lived with his family in the good old

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English way "above the business." Henschman's store occupied the site of the house of Captain Keayne, who generously presented to Boston the first Town House. He was, too, the organizer of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston. The book-store of Nicholas Boone was near by, and on the corner of Water Street — to the left of the old coach that is going down Cornhill, may be seen the Heart and Crown Printing Office. One door this way is the Blue Anchor Tavern, with its sign overhanging the street. Opposite is the store of William Jackson, known as the Brazen Head, the swinging sign of which (in the painting) hides a portion of the old Cedar Meeting House. Its belfry as here shown is correct and comes from the British Museum copy of Price's Map of Boston. The building this side of the church is the Governor Winthrop mansion, which was destroyed by the British troops during the occupation of Boston in 1775.

BUILDINGS, SITES, ETC., ASSOCIATED WITH FRANKLIN, STILL TO BE SEEN ABOUT BOSTON

1. The Old State House standing on the corner of State and Washington Streets has recently been restored, so that it looks much as it did in Franklin's time, when it was the Town House.

2. On Unity Street in the North End (No. 19) can still be seen the house which Franklin provided as a home for his sisters Elizabeth and Jane.

3. In possession of the Bostonian Society, in the Old State House, is the printing-press from James Franklin's office, at which his 'prentice brother worked.

4. Here, too, will be found the Blue Ball, dated 1698, which Josiah Franklin erected as a sign over the door of his two tallow-chandleries.

5. There are two records of the birth of "Benjamin, Son of Josiah Frankling and Abiah his Wife born 6 Jan'y 1706."

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One may be seen at the Old South Meeting House, and the other at the Registry Department, City Hall.

6. In the Old Granary Burial Ground an obelisk marks the graves of the parents of Franklin, bearing an inscription written by their famous son.

7. Here, too, may be seen the grave-stone of Franklin's good old Uncle Benjamin, who had interested himself in the lad's welfare years before he crossed the Western Ocean to spend his last days with the family in Boston.

8. In front of City Hall stands Greenough's statue of Franklin, erected in 1856, Boston's first portrait statue.

9. Within a stone's throw is the site of James Franklin's printing office, where his young brother learned the rudiments of the printer's trade. A small bronze tablet marks the spot on the corner of Franklin Avenue and Court Street.

10. Another tablet will be found on the site of the birth-place, 17 Milk Street, near Washington.

11. Another site of interest to the lovers of Franklin is the southeast corner of Hanover and Union Streets, which marks the spot where stood his boyhood's home, above his father's shop.

12. About No. 339 Washington Street is the site of the shop in which Josiah Franklin was doing business when Benjamin was born.

13. In the Boston Public Library, by inquiring in Bates Hall, one will be shown two original oil portraits of Franklin, one by Duplessis, and the other by Greuze, both painted while he was resident at Passy near Paris, as representative of the newly formed republic.

14. There is in the Harvard Memorial Hall a so-called portrait of Franklin, said to have been painted during the year he spent in London as a journeyman printer, but there is grave doubt about its genuineness.

15. The Lawrence Scientific School, Cambridge, contains an electric machine given to Harvard College by Franklin.

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16. In the library of the Masonic Temple, Boston, is preserved Fisher's mezzotint of Chamberlin's portrait of Franklin, on the reverse of which, in Franklin's hand, is the inscription, "For Mrs. Dorcas Stickney in Newbury." Mrs. Stickney, who was his niece, received Franklin's gift from Paris in 1778, with the word that the sender considered it his best portrait.



FRANKLIN THE PRINTER'S PRENTICE

FRANKLIN THE PRINTER

“**T**HE *New England Courant*, No. 80, From Monday February 4, to Monday February 11, 1723,” was received by Boston with mixed feelings. Many there were who took honest satisfaction in the plucky fight the little paper was making for free speech. Others, of the more vulgar sort, loudly applauded its bald and often unnecessarily insulting flings at the Governor, the Council, the ministers, and the church-goers. These would have taken as great a delight in a dog-fight, but there were many of them, and their laughter at the awkward position in which the paper’s every move left the dignitaries was knowingly taken advantage of by James Franklin and his apprentice brother, Benjamin. To those who had ears to hear, and there were not a few on either side, this latest number of the *Courant* covertly yet plainly said “Checkmate.”

Official and ultra-religious Boston was amazed and deeply chagrined; once again it had been circumvented. In its attempt to change the tone of this exasperating little sheet, James Franklin, its editor and proprietor, had been thrown into prison; but the expected improvement was not discernible. In fact, those who searched diligently for it were shocked to find instead satirical arguments and eloquent essays not only more candid and forceful than their predecessors, but considerably more numerous. One thing remained to do: forthwith an order was issued strictly forbidding James Franklin “to print or publish the *New England Courant*, or any pamphlet, or paper of the like nature, except it be supervised by the Secretary of this Province.” In No. 80, of the *Courant*, James Franklin announced that this stipulation was so inconvenient and unprofitable that he had “entirely dropt the

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undertaking." The new publisher announced that the *Courant* was now "designed purely for the Diversion and Merriment of the Reader," but in a footnote the reader is informed that the new publisher is Benjamin Franklin! So the authorities, in their blundering efforts to extract one thorn from their side, had but driven in a worse one.

The seventeen-year-old editor and publisher, with unusual skill and youthful enthusiasm, thrust at his antagonists time and again, cleverly parried the return blows, and withal so successfully manœuvred the affairs of the *Courant* that in three months' time its price was increased and its edition enlarged.

So the strife went merrily on for about six months, when civil war broke out in the *Courant* office itself, and the Franklin brothers parted in anger. By this quarrel Boston lost a vexatious printer's apprentice and Philadelphia gained a master printer, whom his adopted city and, indeed, all America accepts to-day as a sort of patron saint of the craft. On his deathbed some sixty-seven years afterward, Franklin requested that the printers of Philadelphia, with their employees, be given a prominent place in his funeral procession. During all the intervening years Franklin would have described himself as by trade a printer. His will began: "I, Benjamin Franklin, printer," and this was no affectation, for his interest in the craft never slackened.

Franklin had signed with his brother James to serve him nine years as an apprentice. Curiously, this is almost exactly the time which he served the trade as apprentice and journeyman together, in Boston, Philadelphia, and London. In the spring of 1728 he started in business for himself. He had, in all, five employers, his brother James in Boston, Samuel Keimer and Andrew Bradford in Philadelphia, Palmer and Watts in London. With the Englishmen Franklin seems to have had no trouble, but with his fellow-countrymen he was usually at odds; in each quarrel it was a case of diamond cut

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diamond, and the young Bostonian always proved himself the sharper, although his youthful methods of dealing with his employers were not always commendable. As years passed, his ideals became higher, and from those with whom he was brought into contact through his trade he picked some of his most valued friends. William Strahan, the English printer, John Walter, founder of *The London Times*, the younger Fournier, celebrated printer and typefounder, and David Hall, the journeyman printer whom he met at Watts's office in London, afterwards his partner and successor, are examples of members of the trade with whom Franklin formed affectionate and loyal friendships, which even the Revolution did not disrupt.

Franklin had great knowledge of paper, ink, types and presses. He took pleasure in such things always and showed an active interest which resulted in many improvements that materially advanced the art of printing. He is said to have been the first printer to attempt illustrating a newspaper, and one of the first to use display advertisements. While in Paris, he maintained a little private printing office, and when he returned to America, five years before his death, he brought a press and type as a present for one of his grandsons. To-day, one hundred and twenty-five years after his death, he remains the one printer whose birthday is commemorated in America by an annual festival.

In 1728 he became a master printer. Although only twenty-two years of age, he had had a varied experience in the trade and had seen considerable of the world in general. The printing office which he opened finally developed ten branch offices in six of the colonies and in Jamaica, his partner in each case eventually buying out Franklin's share.

Exactly in the middle of his life (late in 1748), he retired from active business, his partner, David Hall, assuming control. Eighteen years later, Hall became sole owner.

FRANKLIN THE PRINTER

Franklin was in the printing business forty-eight years. He served his country the same number of years in various capacities but he never depended upon the Government for a livelihood.

It has been pointed out that Franklin had no great ambition in his life. His sole idea seemed to be to do each day's work as it came to hand. He was diligent in business and equally diligent in affairs of state, hence by double right he stood before kings and was honored of them.

In the second painting is shown a typical early eighteenth century printing office. Franklin, in paper cap and leather apron, is working the hand-press. It is of interest to know that the press in the painting was painted from the identical press on which the young American used his muscles in Watts's printing establishment in London. It is now in the Smithsonian Institute in Washington. The type cases are practically the same as those in use to-day. The columns of type were locked up in iron chases on slabs of smooth stone, and the inking was done by means of padded leather balls with ink taken from other slabs of stone. The slabs of iron used for these purposes to-day retain the name of "stones." When the form was ready to print from, it was lifted to the bed of the press and here inked. The paper, which had already been dampened, was laid upon the inked form and covered with its "blanket." The bed carrying this form was then slid under the suspended iron slab, which was forced down by means of a screw and the long lever. The weight was then lifted, the bed run out, the "blanket" taken off, the printed sheet removed and hung up to dry; the form was re-inked and the whole process repeated indefinitely. The apprentice on the right is getting the ink into proper condition to use upon the form as soon as Franklin will have com-

FRANKLIN THE PRINTER

pleted the impression already in the press. The pegs on the uprights of the press behind the apprentice are used for holding the ink rolls when not in use. The large lye pot in the lower right-hand corner was used for washing the type.

The long hair gathered up loosely at the neck gives the men a rather feminine appearance. Although no women are shown in this printing office, they were employed as compositors at this period. The daughters of James Franklin assisted their widowed mother in the printing office which their father had established at Newport, R. I., while their younger brother was learning the business in Philadelphia in the establishment of his Uncle Benjamin. When James Franklin set up his office in Newport, he carried thither the press on which Benjamin had worked in Boston. Many years after, it was returned to Boston, and may be seen to-day in the Old State House on State Street, which is within a few hundred feet of the spot on Queen (now Court) Street, where the Franklin Printing Office once stood.



FRANKLIN BUILDING FORT ALLEN

FRANKLIN THE BUILDER OF FORTS

WHEN the news of Braddock's humiliating defeat reached Philadelphia in July, 1755, Governor Morris entreated Colonel Dunbar, who was in command of what was left of the British regulars, to hold the enemy in check at the frontier until he could raise and send reinforcements of colonials. But Dunbar and his "seasoned troops" were headed for Philadelphia, "on the double quick," and with one accord they decided to keep right on. So to Philadelphia they came, leaving the whole country at the mercy of the enemy.

Now Governor Morris loved a dispute as a schoolboy loves a game of ball. He had promised Franklin to refrain from this little diversion while Governor. Nevertheless he was soon enjoying himself to the full in this particular regard. No more unfortunate juncture could have been found for indulging his weakness than just after Braddock's defeat. The whole colony was in a panic and needed careful, cool-headed leadership. Governor Morris, however, had determined to stick to the letter of his instructions from the proprietaries in England whether he ruined the colony or not, and when the question arose as to who should pay the troops he proposed sending to the frontier, he said one thing and the Assembly said another. Spirited letters flew back and forth, those from the Assembly to the Governor being written by Franklin. Yet Franklin continued to be on such friendly terms with His Excellency as frequently to dine with him. Public-spirited citizens now and again proposed a compromise, but to no purpose. Time even was taken to send despatches to England regarding the deadlock.

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In September and October, while the wrangling went hopelessly on, Indians were burning and killing in many parts of the colony; whole settlements were wiped out and families scalped within eighty miles of Philadelphia. At last, the proprietaries subscribed £5,000 toward the payment of the troops and a truce was patched up between the Governor and the Assembly, the much-needed money was forthcoming, and Franklin was appointed one of seven commissioners to have it in charge. Late in November, the Moravian settlements, in which Count Zinzendorf, the heroic missionary, had labored so earnestly, were attacked. One village, Güadenhutten, was entirely burned and all the people but two killed. There was panic on all sides, the result largely of the obstinacy of Governor Morris. Yet at this juncture the Governor calmly asked Franklin if he would go to the Moravian settlements in the Lehigh Valley and protect the people; Franklin magnanimously accepted the Governor's commission. This was one of the numberless times when, at a sacrifice of his own interests, he willingly served his fellows. He nowhere shows himself a nobler man than when, about the middle of December, he set out with his five hundred and sixty men.

The account of the little expedition under General Franklin cannot be better told than in his own words, taken from his *Autobiography*.

“While several companies in the city and country were forming, and learning their exercise, the Governor prevailed with me to take charge of our north-western frontier, which was infested by the enemy, and provide for the defence of the inhabitants by raising troops and building a line of forts. I undertook this military business, though I did not conceive myself well qualified for it. He gave me a commission with full powers, and a parcel of blank commissions for officers, to be given to whom I thought fit. I had but little difficulty in raising men, having soon five hundred and sixty under my

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command. My son, who had in the preceding war been an officer in the army raised against Canada, was my aide-de-camp, and of great use to me. The Indians had burned Guadenhut, a village settled by the Moravians, and massacred the inhabitants; but the place was thought a good situation for one of the forts.

“In order to march thither, I assembled the companies at Bethlehem, the chief establishment of these people. I was surprised to find it in so good a posture of defence; the destruction of Guadenhut had made them apprehend danger. The principal buildings were defended by a stockade; they had purchased a quantity of arms and ammunition from New York, and had even placed quantities of small paving-stones between the windows of their high stone houses, for their women to throw down upon the heads of any Indians that should attempt to force into them. The armed brethren, too, kept watch and relieved each other on guard, as methodically as in any garrison town. . . . Common sense, aided by present danger, will sometimes be too strong for whimsical opinions.

“It was the beginning of January when we set out upon this business of building forts. I sent one detachment towards the Minisink, with instructions to erect one for the security of that upper part of the country; and another to the lower part, with similar instructions; and I concluded to go myself with the rest of my force to Guadenhut, where a fort was thought more immediately necessary. The Moravians procured me five wagons for our tools, stores, and baggage. . . .

“We had not marched many miles, before it began to rain, and it continued raining all day; there were no habitations on the road to shelter us, till we arrived near night at the house of a German, where, and in his barn, we were all huddled together, as wet as water could make us. It was well we were not attacked on our march, for our arms were of the most ordinary sort, and our men could not keep the locks of their

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guns dry. The Indians are dexterous in contrivances for that purpose, which we had not. . . .

"The next day being fair, we continued our march, and arrived at the desolated Guadenhut. There was a mill near, round which were left several pine boards, with which we soon hutted ourselves; an operation the more necessary at that inclement season, as we had no tents. Our first work was to bury more effectually the dead we found there, who had been half interred by the country people.

"The next morning our fort was planned and marked out, the circumference measuring four hundred and fifty-five feet, which would require as many palisades to be made, one within another, of a foot diameter each. Our axes, of which we had seventy, were immediately set to work to cut down trees; and, our men being dexterous in the use of them, great despatch was made. Seeing the trees fall so fast, I had the curiosity to look at my watch when two men began to cut at a pine; in six minutes they had it upon the ground, and I found it of fourteen inches diameter. Each pine made three palisades of eighteen feet long, pointed at one end. While these were preparing, our other men dug a trench all round, of three feet deep, in which the palisades were to be planted; and, the bodies being taken off our wagons, and the fore and hind wheels separated, by taking out the pin which united the two parts of the perch, we had ten carriages, with two horses each, to bring the palisades from the woods to the spot. When they were set up, our carpenters built a platform of boards all round within, about six feet high, for the men to stand on when to fire through the loop-holes. We had one swivel-gun, which we mounted on one of the angles, and fired it as soon as fixed, to let the Indians know, if any were within hearing, that we had such pieces; and thus our fort, if that name may be given to so miserable a stockade, was finished in a week, though it rained so hard every other day, that the men could not work.

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“This gave me occasion to observe, that, when men are employed, they are best contented; for on the days they worked they were good-natured and cheerful, and, with the consciousness of having done a good day’s work, they spent the evening jollily; but on our idle days they were mutinous and quarrelsome, finding fault with the pork, the bread, &c., and were continually in bad humor. . . .

“This kind of fort, however contemptible, is a sufficient defence against Indians, who have no cannon. Finding ourselves now posted securely, and having a place to retreat to on occasion, we ventured out in parties to scour the adjacent country. We met with no Indians, but we found the places on the neighboring hills, where they had lain to watch our proceedings. . . .

“We had for our chaplain a zealous Presbyterian minister, Mr. Beatty, who complained to me that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When they enlisted they were promised, besides pay and provisions, a gill of rum a day, which was punctually served out to them, half in the morning and the other half in the evening, and I observed they were punctual in attending to receive it; upon which I said to Mr. Beatty, ‘It is perhaps below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum, but if you were only to distribute it out after prayers you would have them all about you.’ He liked the thought, undertook the task, and, with the help of a few hands to measure out the liquor, executed it to satisfaction, and never were prayers more generally and more punctually attended. So that I think this method preferable to the punishment inflicted by some military laws for non-attendance on divine service.

“I had hardly finished this business and got my fort well stored with provisions when I received a letter from the Governor, acquainting me that he had called the Assembly, and wished my attendance there if the posture of affairs on

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the frontiers was such that my remaining there was no longer necessary. My friends, too, of the Assembly pressing me by their letters to be, if possible, at the meeting, and my three intended forts being now completed and the inhabitants contented to remain on their farms under that protection, I resolved to return; the more willingly as a New England officer, Colonel Clapham, experienced in Indian war, being on a visit to our establishment, consented to accept the command. I gave him a commission, and, parading the garrison, had it read before them, and introduced him to them as an officer who, from his skill in military affairs, was much more fit to command them than myself, and giving them a little exhortation, took my leave. I was escorted as far as Bethlehem, where I rested a few days to recover from the fatigue I had undergone. The first night, lying in a good bed, I could hardly sleep, it was so different from my hard lodging on the floor of a hut at Guadenhut with only a blanket or two."

Franklin, then a man of forty-nine, is shown in the third painting personally superintending the erection of one of three forts in the Lehigh Valley, above Bethlehem, made necessary by the incursions of hostile Indians. The weather was cold and rainy during the building of the forts; nevertheless, Indians sullenly watched the process from a safe distance. Franklin here, as elsewhere, got pleasure from the skilful manner in which his men worked, and carefully records the facts. He and all his men carried flint-lock guns, although they were usually too wet to be of any real service.

Mr. Mills visited the site of Fort Allen, and made careful studies of the contour of the hills. He found nothing else as it had been in Franklin's time, and no remains of the fort which Franklin helped build, except the old well, locally known as Franklin's Well. The Fort Allen House, Weissport, now occupies the site of the old fort.



FRANKLIN LIBRARIAN OF THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA

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THE first library in America that could in any sense be called public was that formed of the books brought from England by John Harvard and left by him to the college which now bears his name. This was in 1638. Just about a century later, in 1731, Franklin founded what he considered "the mother of all the North American subscription libraries," the Library Company of Philadelphia, of glorious memory. Unknown to Franklin, a subscription library had been founded in Charleston, South Carolina, before this date, but it did not live and so far as is known influenced the founding of no others. During the years between the founding of the Library Company of Philadelphia and the breaking out of the Revolution, many other libraries of the same order sprang up, in Philadelphia first, and then in various other parts of the country.

After the close of the war, the good work went on, ever broadening in character and spreading throughout the states of the Union — until in 1854, the great library movement bore fruit in the founding of the Boston Public Library, the first free public library in America.

The library of Harvard College perhaps influenced the founding elsewhere of a few other collections of books for the use of undergraduates. But it is to Franklin and the library which he founded that we must look for the germ of the modern library idea, that which came to a full fruition first in the Boston Public Library, the policy of which has been followed, in all its main features, by all the free public libraries of the English-speaking world.

It is fortunate that we have a short account of the inception and beginning of the Library Company of Philadelphia,

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in the words of the founder himself. In his *Autobiography*, Franklin says:

“At the time I established myself in Pennsylvania, there was not a good bookseller’s shop in any of the colonies to the southward of Boston. In New York and Philadelphia, the printers were indeed stationers; but they sold only paper, almanacs, ballads, and a few common school-books. Those who loved reading were obliged to send for their books from England; the members of the Junto had each a few. We had left the ale-house, where we first met, and hired a room to hold our club in. I proposed that we should all of us bring our books to that room, where they would not only be ready to consult in our conferences, but become a common benefit, each of us being at liberty to borrow such as he wished to read at home. This was accordingly done, and for some time contented us.

“Finding the advantage of this little collection, I proposed to render the benefit from the books more common, by commencing a public subscription library. I drew a sketch of the plan and rules that would be necessary [early in 1731] and got a skilful conveyancer, Mr. Charles Brockden, to put the whole in form of articles of agreement to be subscribed; by which each subscriber engaged to pay a certain sum down for the first purchase of the books, and an annual contribution for increasing them. So few were the readers at that time in Philadelphia, and the majority of us so poor, that I was not able without great industry to find more than fifty persons, mostly young tradesmen, willing to pay down for this purpose forty shillings each, and ten shillings per annum. With this little fund we began. [The first meeting of the Library Company of Philadelphia was held Nov. 8, 1731.] The books were imported. [The following is a list of the books comprised in the first importation. They arrived from England in October, 1732:

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Puffendorf's Introduc'n. 8 vo.	Hayes upon Fluxions.
Dr. Howel's History of ye World. 3 vols. Fo.	Keil's Astronomical Lectures.
Rapin's History of England. 12 vols. 8 vo.	Drake's Anatomy.
Salmon's Modern History.	Sidney on Government.
Vertot's Revolutions.	Cato's Letters.
Plutarch's Lives in small vol.	Sieurs DuPort Royal moral essays.
Stanley's Lives of ye Philosophers.	Crousay's Art of Thinking.
Annals of Tacitus by Gordon.	Spectator.
Collection of Voyages. 6 vols.	Guardian.
Atlas Geogra. 5 vols. 4 to.	Tatler.
Gordon's Grammar.	Puffendorf's Laws of Nature, &c.
Brightland's English Grammar.	Addison's Works in 12 mo.
Greenwood's " "	Memorable Things of Socrates.
Johnson's History of Animals.	Turkish Spy.
Architect by Andw. Palladio.	Abridgmt. of Phil: Trans: 5 vols. 4 to.
Evelyn's Parallels of the ancient and modern Architecture.	Gravesend's Nat. Philos. 2 vols. 8 vo.
Bradley's Improvmt. of Hus- bandry, and his other Books of Gardening.	Boerhaave's Chemistry.
Perkinson's Herbal.	The Compleat Tradesman.
Helvicius's Chronology.	Bailey's Dictionary — the best.
Wood's Institutes.	Homer's Iliad and Odyssey.
Dechall's Euclid.	Bayle's Critical Dictionary.
L'Hospital's Conic Sections. 4 to.	Dryden's Virgil.
	Ozanam's Course of Mathem. 5 vols.
	Catalogues.

A number of these books are still upon the shelves of the Library.] The Library was opened one day in the week for lending them to subscribers, on their promissory notes to pay double the value if not duly returned. The institution soon manifested its utility, was imitated by other towns, and in other provinces. The libraries were augmented by donations, reading became fashionable; and our people, having no public amusements to divert their attention from study, became better acquainted with books, and in a few years were observed by strangers to be better instructed and more intelligent than people of the same rank generally are in other countries. . . .

"This was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous; it is become a great

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thing itself, and continually goes on increasing. These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defence of their privileges. . . .

“This library afforded me the means of improvement by constant study, for which I set apart an hour or two each day, and thus repaired in some degree the loss of the learned education my father once intended for me. Reading was the only amusement I allowed myself. I spent no time in taverns, games, or frolics of any kind; and my industry in my business continued as indefatigable as it was necessary.”

In the Minute Books of the organization there is the following entry dated December 11, 1732. “B. Franklin was asked what his charge was for printing a catalogue . . . for each subscriber; and his answer was that he designed them for presents, and would take no charge for them.”

Many of the original shares are still owned by descendants of those who first signed the Articles of Association. Franklin's share is now (1914) in the name of Thomas Hewson Bache, a descendant, the fourth owner since Franklin.

The success and permanence of the Library Company of Philadelphia form but one of the many monuments to the good common sense of its founder.

In the painting of the Library, Mr. Mills has represented Franklin as librarian, which position he held for three months during the second year of the Library Company's existence. He is glancing up from the book he has been examining with a friend, to speak with two persons, apparently strangers, who have just entered the room. Franklin, although but twenty-six years of age, is wearing a wig, as are all the other

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men in the room, young and old. At this time the custom among men of covering their own hair with wigs was well-nigh universal.

The Library Company of Philadelphia as here shown occupies one small room in a private house, probably the same in which the Library opened a few months before, Mr. R. Grace's house in Jones Alley (also called Pewter Platter Alley) and now known as Church Street. Since 1790 the Library has owned its own building. Its two hundred and forty thousand volumes and its many invaluable historic relics are now housed in two large modern buildings.



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WHEN Franklin, at sixteen years of age, put under the office door of the *Courant* a contribution signed "Silence Dogood," he began his editorial career. A few months afterward the 'prentice boy was acting editor, and soon actual, although irresponsible, editor of Boston's little hornet of a newspaper. He did his best to make its sting felt wherever it circulated, in which matter he followed the example and policy of his brother. But he did not long retain this rather anomalous position, and it was not until six eventful years had passed that he earnestly began to edit a paper for the public good. By this time he had learned that, to use irony and satire effectively, the sting should usually be extracted.

The manner in which *The Pennsylvania Gazette* came into Franklin's possession is interesting. He had resolved to start a newspaper in opposition to Bradford's *Mercury*, and innocently enough mentioned the fact to one of the workmen of another printing office. The man told his master, Samuel Keimer, with whom Franklin himself had worked. Keimer thought the idea a good one, and, to Franklin's disgust, promptly started one of his own. In doing this, however, he reckoned without his host. Franklin in that cool, almost cruel, way of his, looked over the ground and decided to use the *Mercury* to kill the *Gazette*. He forthwith began a series of humorous communications, judiciously signed "The Busy Body," which Bradford willingly accepted and published in the *Mercury*. They attracted wide attention. By this means the subscription list of the *Mercury* ran up, while there was a corresponding lowering of that of the *Gazette*. Keimer tried

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to reply in kind, but he was no match for Franklin, and after being burlesqued unmercifully for a few months he gave it up and left the city. Franklin then bought the *Gazette*. With No. 40 (1729), its new career began under a master hand that eventually made it the best and most powerful newspaper in the colonies. He carefully excluded all personal abuse and everything of a controversial nature; he introduced much humor; broad as it sometimes was, it never had in it that other objectionable quality, a sharp sting. So with the hoax idea, of which he made constant use, everybody could laugh and no one felt hurt. In fact, Franklin made his paper stand for good citizenship and brotherly love.

The *Gazette* was a single sheet, which, when folded, measured but twelve by eighteen inches, and it was issued only twice a week, but it contained "the freshest advices, foreign and domestic," articles taken from the English press, anecdotes, and advertisements galore. When there was a shortage in a column, Franklin promptly set up a little squib, composing it as he handled the type. If news was short, or there was no European article suitable for use, the versatile editor wrote a long essay in his striking style, modelled after the diction of Cotton Mather or the *Spectator* essayists. This was a sort of editorial work not known now, but it had its compensations. Perhaps no contributor or editor ever had so little trouble in getting his articles into print, so little annoyance in having his contributions cut, so little worry from bad proof-reading. Franklin knew exactly what was wanted, and the amount was measured by the hole in the form, so that not a word too much was set up. This "padding," usually the poorest part of a paper, was in the *Gazette* the best. It was never revised, or even read in proof, but it was found to have a peculiar value to its readers, and it made Franklin's paper famous. Talk of thrift! Was there ever a better example of it?

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And this was not all. Franklin believed in advertising; the *Gazette* was the best advertising medium in the country; he had a thrifty wife who could tend a little shop while he edited his paper. These fortunate circumstances were made to work one into the other. The little shop at the "new printing office near the market" was stocked with things to be advertised: books, stationery, soap, lampblack, ink, rags, feathers, coffee, and sometimes even sack. Franklin's editing, then, made his paper sell; because his paper sold, the advertisements were read; because the advertisements were read, his little shop thrived.

Three years after Franklin had acquired the *Gazette* he began to issue an *Almanac*, which stands to-day as the most famous and valuable of this class of publications. In his *Autobiography* Franklin says:

"In 1732 I first published my *Almanac*, under the name of Richard Saunders; it was continued by me about twenty-five years, and commonly called *Poor Richard's Almanac*. I endeavoured to make it both entertaining and useful, and it accordingly came to be in such demand, that I reaped considerable profit from it; vending annually near ten thousand. And observing that it was generally read, scarce any neighborhood in the province being without it, I considered it as a proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common people, who bought scarcely any other books. I therefore filled all the little spaces, that occurred between the remarkable days in the Calendar, with proverbial sentences, chiefly such as inculcated industry and frugality, as the means of procuring wealth, and thereby securing virtue; it being more difficult for a man in want to act always honestly, as, to use here one of those proverbs, *it is hard for an empty sack to stand upright*.

"I considered my newspaper, also, as another means of communicating instruction, and in that view frequently

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reprinted in it extracts from the *Spectator*, and other moral writers; and sometimes published little pieces of my own, which had been first composed for reading in our Junto. Of these are a Socratic dialogue, tending to prove that, whatever might be his parts and abilities, a vicious man could not properly be called a man of sense; and a discourse on self-denial, showing that virtue was not secure, till its practice became a *habitude*, and was free from the opposition of contrary inclinations. These may be found in the papers about the beginning of 1735.

“In the conduct of my newspaper, I carefully excluded all libelling and personal abuse, which is of late years become so disgraceful to our country. Whenever I was solicited to insert anything of that kind, and the writers pleaded, as they generally did, the liberty of the press; and that a newspaper was like a stage-coach, in which any one who would pay had a right to a place; my answer was, that I would print the piece separately if desired, and the author might have as many copies as he pleased to distribute himself; but that I would not take upon me to spread his detraction; and that, having contracted with my subscribers to furnish them with what might be either useful or entertaining, I could not fill their papers with private altercation, in which they had no concern, without doing them manifest injustice. Now, many of our printers make no scruple of gratifying the malice of individuals, by false accusations of the fairest characters among ourselves, augmenting animosity even to the producing of duels; and are, moreover, so indiscreet as to print scurrilous reflections on the government of neighboring states, and even on the conduct of our best national allies, which may be attended with the most pernicious consequences. These things I mention as a caution to young printers, and that they may be encouraged not to pollute their presses, and disgrace their profession by such infamous practices, but refuse steadily; as

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they may see by my example, that such a course of conduct will not on the whole be injurious to their interests."

As with the starting of his newspaper, so also, when Franklin began his almanac, there was a rival to be subdued. He took an extraordinary, though not original, method of diverting attention from the old to the new almanac. The new one was supposed to be humorous, although one man must have found it anything but that. Franklin says in the preface that long ago he would have given the world an almanac, but for the fear of injuring his friend(?) and fellow-student, Titan Leeds.

"But this obstacle (I am far from speaking it with pleasure) is soon to be removed, since inexorable death, who was never known to respect merit, has already prepared the mortal dart, the fatal sister has already extended her destroying shears, and that ingenious man must soon be taken from us. He dies, by my calculation, made at his request, on October 17, 1733, 3 ho., 29 m., P. M., at the very instant of the ϕ of \odot and \S . By his own calculation, he will survive till the 26th of the same month. This small difference between us, we have disputed whenever we have met these nine years past; but at length he is inclined to agree with my judgment. Which of us is most exact, a little time will now determine. As, therefore, these Provinces may not longer expect to see any of his performances after this year, I think myself free to take up the task."

Poor Richard's Almanac for 1733 succeeded beyond his expectations. In the preface for the issue of 1734 he regrets that he was not able to be present at the closing scene of Leeds's life and so cannot positively say whether the man was dead or not.

"There is, however, (and I cannot speak it without sorrow), there is the strongest probability that my dear friend is no more; for there appears in his name, as I am assured, an

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Almanack for the year 1734, in which I am treated in a very gross and unhandsome manner; in which I am called a false predictor, an ignorant, a conceited scribbler, a fool, and a liar. Mr. Leeds was too well bred to use any man so indecently and so scurrilously, and, moreover, his esteem and affection for me was extraordinary; so that it is to be feared that pamphlet may be only a contrivance of somebody or other, who hopes, perhaps, to sell two or three years' Almanacks still, by the sole force and virtue of Mr. Leeds's name."

Thus the controversy went on for several years, greatly to the joy of the populace and to the mortification of poor Titan Leeds.

The *Almanac* was issued for more than twenty years with an annual sale of ten thousand copies. The last one for which Franklin wrote the copy was that of 1758. The sayings of "Poor Richard" are too well known to require mention here. They worked themselves into the language of the day, and many of them have come down to us. As Rembrandt and Leonardo da Vinci did not hesitate to borrow an idea from a greater or lesser artist, sometimes with and sometimes, alas, without a "by your leave, Sir," so Franklin looked upon all literature as fair game for "Poor Richard" and for the editor of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. It troubled his thrifty soul to discover a fine truth buried between antique covers, or rendered non-effective by stilted phrase. He could not let it lie dormant; he garbed it in his own quaint way and sent it forth anew as on the wings of the wind. So successful was he in doing this that while his version lives the original is usually forgotten.

The *Gazette* and the *Almanac* being increasingly satisfactory to editor and reader alike, Franklin now projected another publication. This was to be a monthly magazine. As in the starting of his newspaper he blundered in mentioning his plan prematurely, so, when the new periodical lay plain

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in his mind, he repeated the mistake. A rival publisher learned of it, seized the idea, printed a prospectus and issued, February 13, 1741, the first number of *The American Magazine*, just three days before Franklin's *The General Magazine* appeared. These were the first monthly periodicals to appear in America. At the end of six months *both* were dead and buried. The first departed this life aged three months, leaving a publisher to mourn, not over its loss, but over that of a much-depleted bank account. The second gasped out its life at six months, leaving Franklin a wiser but sadder man. It was one of his few failures.

Franklin worked as an editor almost forty years. Besides the newspaper and the *Almanac*, he wrote many pamphlets upon questions of the day. This was the trouble with Franklin in literature. He wrote too much upon passing events. He was too intensely practical. Deep imagination, real spirituality and idealism were lacking in the man, and the lack showed in his work. John Keats, who wrote always from the pure delight of writing, speaks of Franklin as "a philosophical Quaker full of mean and thrifty maxims." But Keats did not understand Franklin any more than Franklin would have understood Keats. They were in literature the very antithesis of each other.

Franklin used his pen effectively always; his pungent, often homely English never missed its mark. The tasks he had set himself early in life, translating Latin, paraphrasing the Bible, studying Addison and Swift, rewriting whole essays from memory, guided only by a few headings, rendering prose into verse and verse into prose, all had their effect in perfecting one of the masters of English prose. His success in several of his walks of life was due to his ability to write clearly and forcefully.

Paul Leicester Ford, in his "Many-Sided Franklin," sums up the literary side of him thus:

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“This self-educated boy and busy, practical man gave to American literature the most popular autobiography ever written, a series of political and social satires that can bear comparison with those of the greatest satirists, a private correspondence as readable as Walpole’s or Chesterfield’s; and the collection of Poor Richard’s epigrams has been oftener printed and translated than any other production of an American pen.

‘If you would not be forgotten,
As soon as you are dead and rotten,
Either write things worth reading,
Or do things worth the writing,’

advised the Almanac-maker, and his original did both.”

The portrait used for Franklin in his editorial sanctum was influenced largely by the one painted by Franklin’s friend Benjamin Wilson in 1759. It is not very familiar to Americans because it was carried to England by Major-General Charles Gray when his troops evacuated Philadelphia in 1778. Gray’s great-grandson, the fourth Earl Gray, when Governor-General of Canada, in 1906 returned it to America. Matthew Pratt’s portrait of Franklin painted in 1756 also influenced Mr. Mills in the Franklin he has here given us.

On top of the bookshelves is the famous little green model of the Franklin stove, which is now in possession of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. On the right of it is an electric dynamo, now in the custody of the University of Pennsylvania. Leyden jars, such as Franklin used in his experiments, are also on the bookshelves. Pinned on the wall between window and stove model is the cover of Franklin’s ill-starred magazine. The quill pens, sand-box, candlesticks, and all the other accessories of the writing-table are

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painted from the actual objects which date back to Franklin's day. In fact, the whole room, with its stiff furniture, its scientific models, its air of utility throughout, is the only sort of room in which we can imagine Franklin at home. This window, for instance, innocent of shade or curtain, must have been exactly his idea of a window, something to let in light and sunshine, in which he believed as firmly as he disbelieved in unnecessary luxury and things artistic, especially if such things obstructed his view of the street and wharves and the busy world about him.



FRANKLIN MAKING HIS FAMOUS SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENT

FRANKLIN THE SCIENTIST

IN Franklin's day men sometimes travelled about from town to town, especially in Europe, "selling shocks" at so much apiece. The word electricity was becoming very interesting to all the world, although not even the most learned "philosophers" suspected the smallest part of what it would later mean to mankind. In 1746 a Dr. Spencer came to Boston, lecturing on this subject, and Franklin happened to hear him. Franklin had always had an investigating turn of mind, as was shown, for instance, by the questions brought up for discussion at his club, the Junto: "How may the phenomena of vapors be explained?" "Why does the flame of a candle tend upwards in a spire?" and so on. Dr. Spencer's clumsily performed experiments interested Franklin so much that he bought the apparatus and went to work with it.

The following year Mr. P. Collinson of London sent the Library Company of Philadelphia a glass tube such as was being used in generating electricity. It was about two and a half feet long, and was intended to be rubbed with silk or buckskin, and meanwhile to be held in contact with the object which was to be charged. Franklin and several friends spent all their leisure time experimenting with it and similar contrivances. His letters to Collinson concerning their work, though at first ridiculed by the Royal Society, were eventually published (1751) under the title: "New Experiments and Observations in Electricity, Made at Philadelphia in America." His discoveries met with recognition first in Europe. He gained a wide reputation as a philosopher, as the expression went at that period—we should say "physicist" or "scientist"; "natural philosophy" is a term seldom heard now.

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The electrical studies of the day were conducted with great lightheartedness. When, in an attempt to kill a turkey by means of an electric shock, Franklin made "so notorious a blunder" as to prostrate himself unconscious on the floor, he said he was like an Irishman who wished to steal gunpowder but made the hole in the cask with a red-hot poker. The investigations were often as much like play as serious research. Franklin writes a friend, for instance, about a pleasure party on the banks of the Schuylkill.

"Spirits, at the same time, are to be fired by a spark sent from side to side through the river, without any other conductor than the water, an experiment which we sometime since performed, to the amazement of many. A turkey is to be killed for our dinner by the *electric shock*, and roasted by the *electric jack* before a fire kindled by the *electrical bottle*, when the healths of all the famous electricians in *England, Holland, France* and *Germany* are to be drank in *electrified bumpers* under the discharge of guns from the *electrical battery*."

This playfulness did not prevent real advance in knowledge. Franklin discarded the accepted "two-fluid theory," and worked out the "one-fluid theory." Early in his studies he began speculating on the resemblance between lightning and electricity. He surmised the two might be alike in being attracted by points, and suggested a method of ascertaining positively that they were the same in this particular.

"I would propose an experiment, to be tried where it may be done conveniently. On the top of some high tower or steeple place a kind of sentry box big enough to contain a man and an electrical stand. From the middle of the stand let an iron rod rise, and pass bending out of the door and then upright twenty or thirty feet, pointed very sharp at the end. If the electrical stand be kept clean and dry, a man standing on it when such clouds are passing low might be

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electrified and afford sparks, the rod drawing fire to him from a cloud."

This experiment was successfully tried in France, where tall iron bars were used instead of steeples, and also in England. In Russia a professor brought so much electricity from the clouds as to be struck dead. In 1752 Franklin wrote Collinson that he had heard of the successful experimenting in France, and mentioned that he had devised a way of performing the same experiment without a high iron rod or a steeple. This was the feat with the kite, about which all the world has been more excited than Franklin himself. He gave a minute description of the experiment, but he never wrote any narrative of his own performing of it. The accounts given of his astonishment, anxiety and exultation had little or no foundation. He could not have been carried away with emotion, as he was simply confirming what he had already reasoned out. The most he says on this point in the *Autobiography* is:

"I will not swell this narrative with an account of that capital experiment [in Paris] nor of the infinite pleasure I received in the success of a similar one I made soon after with a kite at Philadelphia, as both are to be found in the histories of electricity."

Sometime before this he had (1749) planned the lightning-rod.

"May not the knowledge of this power of points be of use to mankind, in preserving houses, churches, ships, &c from the stroke of lightning, by directing us to fix, on the highest parts of those edifices, upright rods of iron made sharp as a needle, and gilt to prevent rusting, and from the foot of those rods a wire down the outside of the building into the ground, or down one of the shrouds of a ship, and down her side till it reaches the water."

It was several months after his kite experiment before Franklin wrote Collinson about it. His directions are explicit:

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“Make a small cross of two light strips of cedar, the arms so long as to reach to the four corners of a large thin silk handkerchief when extended; tie the corners of the handkerchief to the extremities of the cross, so you have the body of a kite; which being properly accommodated with a tail, loop, and string, will rise in the air, like those made of paper; but this being of silk is fitter to bear the wet and wind of a thunder gust without tearing. To the top of the upright stick of the cross is to be fixed a very sharp pointed wire, rising a foot or more above the wood. To the end of the twine, next the hand, is to be tied a silk ribbon, and where the silk and twine join, a key may be fastened. This kite is to be raised when a thundergust appears to be coming on, and the person who holds the string must stand within a door or window, or under some cover, so that the silk ribbon may not be wet; and care must be taken that the twine does not touch the frame of the door or window. As soon as any of the thunder clouds come over the kite, the pointed wire will draw the electric fire from them, and the kite, with all the twine, will be electrified, and the loose filaments of the twine, will stand out every way, and be attracted by an approaching finger. And when the rain has wetted the kite and twine, so that it can conduct the electric fire freely, you will find it stream out plentifully from the key on the approach of your knuckle. At this key the phial may be charged: and from electric fire thus obtained, spirits may be kindled, and all the other electric experiments be performed, which are usually done by the help of a rubbed glass globe or tube, and thereby the sameness of the electric matter with that of lightning completely demonstrated.”

This experiment and the invention of the lightning-rod would have made Franklin's name well known throughout the world, if he had never done anything else noteworthy.

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Kant called him a modern Prometheus, as he had brought down the fire from heaven. The feeling of France was expressed by a famous line which was often quoted and appeared again and again on the symbolic engravings wherein Franklin figured with goddesses and nymphs:

“Eripuit caelo fulmen septrumque tyrannis.”

(“He has snatched the lightning from the sky and the sceptre from tyrants.”) England was less admiring. There an amusing argument sprang up over the comparative efficacy of blunt and sharp ends to the lightning-rods. George III, who in general had little cause to like Franklin’s ideas, ordered blunt-ended ones for Kew Palace. An epigram of the time says:

“While you, great George, for safety hunt,
And sharp conductors change for blunt,
The nation’s out of joint.
Franklin a wiser course pursues,
And all your thunder fearless views,
By keeping to the point.”

The inventor himself took no part in the discussion. “If I had a wish about it,” he said, “it would be that he had rejected them altogether as ineffectual. For it is only since he thought himself and family safe from the thunder of Heaven that he dared to use his own thunder in destroying his innocent subjects.” In some New England circles, the lightning-rod gave cause for sober-minded thought. It was feared that the more points of iron there are on the earth’s surface, the more the earth must become charged with electricity and the more earthquakes there must be. It seemed presuming for man to attempt “to control the artillery of heaven.” Some said that “as lightning is one of the means of punishing the sins of mankind, and of warning them from the commission of sin, it is impious to prevent its full execution.”

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Electricity was by no means the only scientific subject which Franklin investigated. He observed the course of storms over North America, and discovered that the north-east storms of the Atlantic coast came from the southwest. The Gulf Stream he studied many years. Even on his last trip home across the Atlantic, when disabled by illness, he tested the temperature of the water repeatedly with his thermometer. He was the first to bring the current prominently to notice, to cause a chart of it to be published, and to introduce the use of the thermometer in navigation.

He made a special study of chimneys and drafts. During his residence in England many a notable man was glad of the services of the American "chimney doctor," as his enemies sometimes liked to call him. He invented the "Pennsylvania fireplace," an ingenious form of "open fireplace stove." Similar stoves are still called by his name. He also built a stove which consumed its own smoke.

Franklin was constantly inventing something: devices for the better handling of ships, better patterns for sails, new methods of propelling boats, a long arm to hand down books from the upper shelves of his library, a musical instrument comprised of glasses specially shaped and tuned, double spectacles, the upper half of the lens being curved for distant vision and the lower half for nearer vision. He advised that shipwrecked sailors keep their clothing saturated with salt water, to allay thirst; an idea which is said to have been successfully put in practice. His mind was always alert and tireless. If it was a sunny day in winter, he enjoyed the snow the more for laying on it squares of different colored cloth, so as to observe under which color the snow melted most rapidly. If he went for a country walk, he would carry a little oil in the upper hollow joint of his bamboo cane and test with it the action of oil on the ponds and pools along the road.

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There was no limit to the variety of subjects which he carefully studied. The following list is by no means complete, but its heterogeneousness is enlightening. He studied:

The effect of the depth of	The rainfall.
water on the speed of ships.	Earthquakes.
Phosphorescence of sea water.	Whirlwinds and waterspouts.
The aurora borealis.	The cause of the saltness of
National wealth.	the sea.
Peace and war.	Free trade.
Sun spots.	Slave trade.
Ventilation.	Shooting stars.
Medicine.	

Over all enterprises like the construction of steamboats, air-pumps and balloons, he was very enthusiastic.

One memorable result of Franklin's scientific interests was the establishment of a society to further the advance of science, the American Philosophical Society. The members at first seemed to him "very idle gentlemen," who would "take no pains." Later the organization became zealous in its work. In his later years, Franklin built a wing on his house, the first floor of which was for the use of this society. In this building certain principles of fire-proof construction were introduced by Franklin which have since been very generally adopted.

It should be remembered to the "philosopher's" credit that he was in his scientific work unselfish. He disbelieved in taking out patents, as his discoveries were for the use of the world. Even when a Philadelphia ironmonger put a slight addition on his Pennsylvania fireplace, patented it, and coined money out of it, Franklin's opinion in this regard seems not to have wavered. He was merely a seeker after truth. "I find," said he, "a frank acknowledgement of one's ignorance is not only the easiest way to get rid of a difficulty,

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but the likeliest way to obtain information, and therefore I practise it; and I think it honest policy." Controversies to protect his own reputation as discoverer and inventor had no attractions for him.

"I have never entered into any controversy in defense of my philosophical opinions; I leave them to take their chance in the world. If they are right, truth and experience will support them; if wrong, they ought to be refuted and rejected. Disputes are apt to sour one's temper and disturb one's quiet."

When Abbe Nollet denied the verity of Franklin's electrical experiments, "I concluded," he says, "to let my papers shift for themselves; believing it was better to spend what time I could spare from public business in making new experiments, than in disputing about those already made."

His purpose in all research was practical. He might be ever so immersed in speculation, but he sooner or later applied the touchstone: how much will this help mankind? He says: "What signifies philosophy that does not apply to some use?" After all, he considers it of little importance to know "the manner in which nature executed her laws; 'tis enough to know the laws themselves. 'Tis of real use to know that china left in the air will fall and break; but how it comes to fall and why it breaks are matters of speculation. 'Tis a pleasure indeed to know them, but we can preserve our china without it."

Biographers have sometimes wondered that so few of Franklin's achievements are to-day well known. When the multiplicity of subjects which he studied is considered, and the large variety of other kinds of important work which he did, this question calls for no answer.

Franklin made suggestions which were far in advance of the scientific thought of his time; for instance, his idea of a possible medium pervading all space, by means of which the

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attractions and repulsions of bodies distant from one another may take place, and his idea that the phenomena of optics could be explained by means of the vibration of an elastic ether. In general, Franklin accomplished great things as a collector who knew admirably well how to make scientific knowledge available and intelligible to people. Even to-day his clear-cut explanations of puzzling, every-day questions, not always answered in books, are valuable. His treatises on smoke and chimneys are really excellent reading. "Modern students," says one biographer, "would have an easier time if Franklin were still here to write their text-books." As a matter of fact, among really great scientists Franklin does not stand in the forefront, but rather in the second rank. If he had not been prevented by his long public service from giving to scientific research the time he would gladly have devoted to it, the foremost scientists would undoubtedly have had need to look to their laurels.

The painting of Franklin flying his kite in a thunder storm is purely imaginary, but follows facts as closely as possible. In this particular it presents a refreshing contrast to the innumerable fanciful pictures illustrating this incident which for generations inevitably appeared in every school-book. Franklin's son William was at this time at least nineteen, and, according to his father, "something of a dandy."

They went out to the outskirts of Philadelphia to the neighborhood, as nearly as can be ascertained, of what is now Seventeenth and Callowhill Streets. There were no spires in Philadelphia at that time, had Franklin preferred to try his experiment in a high place as he suggested in his letters to Collinson. The two took refuge from the rain in an old cowshed. Franklin attached a silk cord or ribbon to the kite string, which, being a non-conductor, made a convenient thing

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to hold to. He brought the string in through the shed door, and attached it to the Leyden jar, which is to be seen on a board at the left of the picture. They not only succeeded in drawing sparks from the string by touching their knuckles to a key which they fastened to it, but they succeeded in charging the Leyden jar also.

The kite experiment took place in 1752, when Franklin was forty-six years old.



FRANKLIN AT THE BAR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

FRANKLIN THE PATRIOT: ABROAD

“**A** MASTER examined by a parcel of school-boys,” is the way Burke aptly described Franklin’s ordeal in Parliament, February, 1766. This was at the time of the Stamp Act agitation. The act, which consisted of fifty-five articles, and imposed taxes on fifty-four classes of objects, had been proposed by George Grenville, and had been passed the year before.

Previous to this time, when England desired to raise money in America, it had been customary for the king to send circular letters to the Assemblies of the colonies, setting forth the need of assistance. Each Assembly appropriated what it considered the colony could afford. Grenville’s idea that Parliament should tax the colonies, although the latter could send no representatives to Parliament, was an unhappy one. Franklin was in England as agent of the Pennsylvania colony at the time of the passage of the Stamp Act, and did all in his power to prevent it. But Parliament preferred compulsion to the “golden bridge” of persuasion.

“We might as well have hindered the sun’s setting, . . .” Franklin wrote in a letter, “but since it is down, my friend, and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles.”

Franklin’s enemies accused him of traitorously favoring the act, but letters and documents show conclusively that this was false. It is true that, naturally enough, he did not foresee the stormy objections which would be made in America to the stamps. He hoped that the clamor of merchants and manufacturers in England would accomplish even more than

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it did toward the repeal of the act. He considered that a corrupt Parliament was to blame, and he hoped that no outbreak of hostilities between the two countries would prove necessary. But he was convinced that Britain was in the wrong, that the Stamp Act was the "mother of mischiefs," and he declared that it was "supposed to be an undoubted right of Englishmen not to be taxed but by their own consent given through their representatives." The position he occupied made him unpopular: Englishmen thought him too much of an American, and Americans thought him too much of an Englishman. Furthermore, his situation was difficult because it was hard, slow work for people on either side of the Atlantic to obtain full and accurate information as to the real state of public opinion on the other side of the ocean.

The Grenville ministry gave place to the Marquis of Rockingham's ministry, which was friendly to America. Edmund Burke was Rockingham's private secretary. (A list of this ministry may be found at the end of the notes on the painting of Franklin before the House of Commons.)

The new Parliament held a six weeks' investigation of American affairs. "Every denomination of men" attended at the bar to give testimony. "Such evidence was never laid before Parliament," said Burke. The chief witness, in fact, one of the most remarkable witnesses the world has ever seen, was Dr. Franklin. Probably no one man before ever gave orally so complete a setting-forth of the condition of an entire country.

Although many questions were asked by sympathizers, expressly to give him an opportunity to speak on certain points, a large number were deliberately and skilfully aimed to entangle him. He was equally prepared for both. Some of his questioners were: Mr. Hewett (Coventry), Mr. Huske, Mr. George Grenville, Mr. Nugent, Lord Clare, Mr. Grey Cooper, Mr. Prescott, Sir George Savile, Mr. A. Bacon,

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Mr. Charles Townshend, Mr. Burke, the Marquis of Granby, Lord North, Mr. Thurlowe, Mr. Conway, Mr. Welbore Ellis.

The report of Franklin's examination deserves to be widely known. One main argument which Franklin particularly emphasized in his replies was that the colonies were even then burdened with debts and taxes incurred in helping to pay for a war that had not been really necessary for their own welfare. Moreover, they had contributed men as well as money for the assistance of the mother-country.

Several of his answers pointed to the impossibility of enforcing the tax. The frontier counties were too poor and too remote. A man who needed a stamp for a deed or a receipt might have to make a journey costing "three or four pounds that the crown might get sixpence."

Grenville and his party argued that the colonies did not pay their share. Franklin showed that in response to letters sent the Assemblies they had contributed so much more than their share that Parliament, in accordance with the king's suggestion, had been in the habit of refunding a sum annually. This, however, did not begin to be adequate reimbursement.

"Is it not necessary to send troops to America to defend the Americans against the Indians?" he was asked. "No," replied Franklin. ". . . They defended themselves when they were but a handful, and the Indians much more numerous."

Before 1763, Franklin assured his questioners that the colonies had been governed "at the expense only of a little pen, ink, and paper; they were led by a thread." They had considered Parliament as the bulwark of their liberties; now their temper was very much altered.

The Tory members professed not to understand why the colonists objected to the Stamp Act, though they willingly let Parliament levy duties regulating commerce. He explained that if unequal burdens were laid on trade, merchants put

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additional prices on their goods; but people were not obliged to buy the merchandise at the advanced prices unless they wished. On the other hand, under the Stamp Act the colonists "have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase, nor grant nor recover debts; we shall neither marry nor make our wills, unless we pay such and such sums; and thus it is intended to extort our money from us, or ruin us by the consequences of refusing to pay it."

The point was that "a right to lay internal taxes was never supposed to be in Parliament, as we are not represented there."

Later in the examination, when the Stamp Act men persisted in seeing no distinction between external and internal taxes, Franklin hinted that perhaps the colonists also would come at length to think there was no distinction, and would object to both!

Franklin pointed out that the tax would be especially resented by the poorer classes of people. "The greatest part of the money must arise from law-suits for recovery of debts and be paid by the lower sort of people, who were too poor easily to pay their debts. It is, therefore, a heavy tax on the poor, and a tax upon them for being poor."

Although the tax should be reduced, Franklin declared that the colonists would still not pay it.

Grenville made an interesting attempt to trip Dr. Franklin up. The Americans, he said, were already cheerfully paying postage, which was a tax. But Franklin defined postage as a non-compulsory payment for services rendered; a man could send a letter by messenger if he preferred. "Do not the Americans," Grenville persisted, "consider the regulations of the post-office, by the act of last year, as a tax?" He should not have crossed swords with the American deputy postmaster-general. The act he mentioned, Franklin told him,

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reduced the rate of postage in America thirty per cent and this abatement the Americans certainly did not regard in the light of a tax. After this, Grenville had little to say.

The House was deeply impressed by Franklin's assertion that America need depend not at all on Britain for the necessities of life. Whereas the colonists' pride had been "to indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain," now it was "to wear their old clothes over again till they can make new ones." "The people will all spin and work for themselves, in their own houses."

There would be no taxes collected, Franklin asserted, "but such as are stained with blood." Even military power could not carry the Stamp Act into execution. "Suppose," said he, "a military force sent into America, they will find nobody in arms. What are they to do? They cannot force a man to take stamps who chooses to do without them. They will not find a rebellion; they may indeed make one."

Some of the friends of America tried to lead Franklin on to make humorous replies. But at the bar of Parliament he would suggest no facetious amendments, like the changing of 1765 to 2765 in the date of the Stamp Act; he would hold no discourse about American sheep growing wool so heavy that they had to drag little carts behind them in which to carry their tails. With utmost dignity he promptly met every attack, saw afar off the hidden purpose of every crafty question and replied with exquisite keenness and perfect self-possession. He avoided every pitfall. Whitefield said every answer he gave made the questioner appear insignificant.

It was on February 3, 1766, that Franklin and others were ordered to appear before the House. February 13 he was excepted from further attendance. Eleven days later a resolution was reported, that leave be given to bring in a bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act. When the vote was finally taken, two hundred and seventy-five voted for repeal,

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one hundred and sixty-seven against. (The names of the minority may be found at the end of the notes concerning this painting.)

"The ministry," wrote Franklin, "were ready to hug me for the assistance I had given them." The examination resulted in a great burst of gratitude to Franklin, as soon as news of it reached America. All the former misgivings as to his patriotism were swept away; he became a hero. *The Pennsylvania Gazette* published a letter from London which read:

"Mr. Benj. Franklin has served you greatly. He was examined at the bar of the House of Commons and gave such clear and explicit answers to the questions proposed and mentioned his own sentiments with so much firmness and resolution as at once did him great credit and served your cause not a little. I believe he has left nothing undone that he imagined would serve his country."

There was no doubt that his brilliant answers had greatly aided in the carrying of the repeal. Philadelphia was illuminated; "the very children seemed distracted." A forty-foot barge from which salutes were fired, and which bore the name of FRANKLIN, was dragged through the streets in a procession. Franklin himself celebrated the glad event by sending his wife a silk gown of British manufacture.

The painting of Franklin before the House of Commons is a remarkable example of an artist's truthfulness to historic detail. A scrutiny of it is like a visit in London in 1766.

The room in which the Commons met was not large. It was in St. Stephen's Chapel, which had been so remodelled, it has been said, as to convert "the finest chapel in the kingdom into the worst imaginable chamber of legislation." This chapel was originally built by Stephen in 1141; it was rebuilt by Edward I, remodelled by Edward III, supplied with

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galleries and otherwise altered under Queen Anne by Sir Christopher Wren, and destroyed in 1834 by fire. About half the chapel was occupied as a meeting place for the House of Commons, the other half being used for lobbies.

For dimensions, proportions and architectural details, Mr. Mills has enthusiastically ransacked ancient descriptions, diagrams and engravings. He has depicted as accurately as possible all the fittings, for instance, the slender iron pillars with Corinthian capitals and sconces, the slightly elevated speaker's chair with its Corinthian columns and the royal arms above; even the socket for receiving the bar when drawn across the entrance.

Franklin, not being a member of Parliament, was obliged to appear behind the bar. On this occasion, the speaker was not occupying the chair, for the House was "in committee of the whole." The chair was vacant, and the mace, instead of lying on the table, was suspended in the rests placed on the front of the table for the purpose. The table was large, and accommodated books, papers and the official boxes of the ministers.

The chairman of committees, Rose Fuller, is presiding. He sits at the table, with the clerks, facing the visitor, with his back turned to the speaker's chair. At the chairman's right sit members of the ministry and their adherents; at his left, the opposition members. The painting is particularly valuable for the many portraits of notable men included in it. Mr. Mills has made an exhaustive study of this matter, comparing portrait with portrait, securing likenesses of these men painted as nearly as possible to the date of the Stamp Act investigation. Wigs and details of dress are true to the period. For Franklin, at this time sixty years old, the artist has used the Martin portrait. His dignified pose is in admirable contrast to the somewhat uncertain bearing of his questioner, George Grenville, memorable as the proposer of "the

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unhappy act.” He looks as if he were just showing his ignorance with regard to American postal arrangements.

The figure at the lower right-hand corner of the picture, with the left side of his face showing, and his left arm over the back of the seat, is the sergent-at-arms. The man, standing at the right of the speaker, holding a wand, is a whip.

The rows of faces merit close examination. The portraits of the men in the front row in front of Franklin, at his left hand, are, going from left to right:

George Onslow, who, in 1767, raised a laugh against Grenville by proposing that he visit New England.

H. S. Conway, who moved the repeal of the Stamp Act.

Lord George Sackville (with a hat on), one of the vice-treasurers in the Rockingham ministry, a joint vice-chancellor of Ireland, one of those who voted against the repeal of the Stamp Act.

Thomas Pitt, cousin to William Pitt, one who voted against the repeal of the Stamp Act.

Thomas Townshend, “one of those who were most eager in 1783 to bring the war to a close with liberal terms for America.”

Lord Richard Howe (with a hat on), treasurer of the navy in the Rockingham ministry.

This row is known as the Treasury Bench.

In the second row, behind and at the left of Franklin, going from left to right, are:

Edmund Burke, the firm and able friend of the colonies.

Colonel Barré, who had fought under General Wolfe at Quebec, the member who made the often quoted reply to Charles Townshend, saying that the colonies had been planted by Britain’s oppression, had grown up by her neglect, had taken up arms in her defence, etc.

John Viscount Downe.

Sir Robert Ladbroke.

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Behind Franklin, the first half-face is an imaginary portrait. Then come portraits of:

Sir Charles Hardy (a three-quarter view).

William Pitt, whose speeches, well known in the colonies, were a great help to the American cause.

John Manners, Marquis of Granby, master of ordnance, one who voted against the repeal.

Charles Townshend, paymaster in the Rockingham ministry, who was outspoken in the belief that the Americans were over-indulged children, too selfish to contribute to the assistance of England.

Behind the sergeant-at-arms in the front row, next a half-face, which is imaginary, can be seen, going from right to left, the faces of:

Lord North, under whose government the tea was sent out, because, as he said, "the king means to try the question with America," and

Alexander Wedderburn, who in 1774 heaped abuse on Franklin when he appeared before the Privy Council in the affair of the Hutchinson letters.

LORD ROCKINGHAM'S MINISTRY, JULY, 1765

Lord Chancellor, Lord Northington.

Lord President, Lord Winchelsea.

Lord Privy Seal, Duke of Newcastle.

Lord Chamberlain, Duke of Portland.

Vice Chamberlain, Lord Villiers.

Groom of the Stole, Lord Huntingdon.

Lord Steward, Lord Talbot.

Treasurer of the Household, Lord Edgecumbe.

Comptroller, T. Pelham.

Cofferer, Lord Scarborough.

Treasurer of the Chamber, Sir Gilbert Elliot.

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Master of Horse, Duke of Rutland.

Captain of Yeomen of the Guard, Lord Falmouth.

Captain of Band of Pensioners, Lord Litchfield.

First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Rockingham.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, W. Dowdeswell.

Lords of the Treasury, { Lord J. Cavendish.
Thomas Townshend.
George Onslow.

First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Halifax.

Lords of the Admiralty, { Sir C. Saunders.
Hon. A. Keppel.
C. Townshend of Honingham.
Sir W. Meredith.
John Buller.
Thomas Pitt.

Secretaries of State, { General Conway.
Duke of Grafton.

Chancellor of Duchy, Lord Strange.

Chief Justices in Eyre, { Duke of Leeds.
Lord Monson.

Postmasters, { Lord Besborough.
Lord Grantham.

Master of Ordnance, Lord Granby.

Secretary at War, Lord Barrington.

Paymaster, C. Townshend.

Treasurer of the Navy, Lord Howe.

First Lord of Trade, Lord Dartmouth.

Lords of Trade, { Soame Jenyns.
Edward Eliot.
John Roberts.
Jeremiah Dyson.
W. Fitzherbert.
George Rice.
Lord Palmerston.

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Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Hertford.

Vice-Treasurers, { Ja. Oswald.
Lord George Sackville.
Welbore Ellis.

A LIST OF THE MINORITY IN THE HOUSE OF COM- MONS WHO VOTED AGAINST THE BILL TO REPEAL THE STAMP ACT

(From a contemporaneous list.)]

J. Abercrombie, Esq., a major general and colonel of the
44th Regiment of foot. Clackmannanshire.

Edward Bacon, Esq. Norwich.

William Baggot, Esq. Staffordshire.

Sir Richard Warwick Bamfylde, bart. Devonshire.

Lord Barrington, Secretary at war. Plymouth.

Lord Bateman, Master of the buckhounds. Woodstock.

Lord Robert Bertie, Lord of the King's bedchamber, a
lieutenant-general, governor of Cork and Colonel of the 7th
Regiment of Foot. Boston.

Lord Brownlow Bertie. Lincolnshire.

Peregrine Bertie, Esq. Westbury.

William Blackstone, Esq. Solicitor-general to the Queen.
Hindon.

Sir Walter Blacket, bart. Newcastle upon Tyne.

Richard Wilbraham Bootle, Esq. Chester.

Thomas Brand, Esq. Gatton.

William Bromley, Esq. Warwickshire.

Hon. Robert Brudenel, a groom of the bedchamber to
the Duke of York, and colonel of the 4th regiment of foot, and
lately made vice-chamberlain to the Queen. Marlborough.

Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury, bart. Suffolk.

Sir Robert Burdett, bart. Tamworth.

Honourable John Burgoyne, Esq. colonel of the 16th
regiment of dragoons, Midhurst.

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Honourable Charles Sloane Cadogan, surveyor of His Majesty's waters, and treasurer to the Duke of York. Cambridge-town.

Right Honourable Lord Frederick Campbell, Glasgow, Renfrew, &c.

James Campbell Esq., governor of Stirling Castle. Stirlingshire.

Marquis of Carnarvon. Radnorshire.

Lord Carysfort. Huntingdonshire.

Timothy Caswell, Esq. Hertford.

Earl of Catherlough, Grimsby.

Richard Clive, Esq. Montgomery.

James Edward Colleton, Esq. Lestwithiel.

Sir John Hynd Cotton, Cambridgeshire.

James Coutts, Esq., Edinburgh city.

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Sir John Hussey Deleval, bart. Berwick.

John Dickson, Esq. Peebleshire.

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William Drake, Esq. Amersham.

Thomas Erle Drax, Esq. Wareham.

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Thomas Dundas, Esq. Richmond.

Thomas De Grey, Esq. Norfolk.

Jeremiah Dyson, Esq., one of the lords of trade. Yarmouth, Hants.

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Archibald Edmonstone, Esq. Dumbartonshire.

Right Honourable Gilbert Elliot, Esq., treasurer of the Chamber. Roxburghshire.

Right Honourable Welbore Ellis, Aylesbury.

Simon Fanshawe, Esq., comptroller of the board of green cloth, Grampound.

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Earl of Farnham. Taunton.

Thomas Foley, Esq. Droitwich.

Alexander Forrester, Esq. Oakhampton.

Colonel Fraser, Invernessshire.

Lord Garlies, Morpeth.

Bamber Gascoigne, Esq. Midhurst.

Thomas Gilbert, Esq. comptroller of the King's wardrobe. Newcastle under line.

Sir John Glynne, bart. Flint town.

Lord Adam Gordon, Colonel of the 66th regiment of foot. Aberdeenshire.

The Marquis of Granby, Master of the Ordnance and colonel of the Royal Regiment Horse Guards Blue, Cambridgeshire.

Sir Alexander Grant, bart. Fortrose, &c.

Charles Gray, Esq. Colchester.

David Graeme, Esq. secretary to the Queen, a major-general, colonel of the 49th regiment of foot, Perthshire.

Right Honourable George Grenville, Esq. Buckingham town.

Thomas Grosvenor, Esq. Chester.

Howel Gwynne, Esq. Old Sarum.

John Hamilton, Esq. master of the King's works in Scotland. Wigtown, &c.

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William Gerrard Hamilton, Esq. chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland. Pontefract.

Honourable Thomas Harley, Esq. London.

Sir Henry Harpur, bart. Derbyshire.

James Harris, Esq. Christchurch.

Eliab Harvey, Esq. King's counsel, Dunwich.

Edward Harvey, Esq., a major-general, colonel of the 3d regiment of light horse, and adjutant-general in North America. Gattton.

George Hay, L.L.D. Dean of the arches court and judge of prerogative court of Canterbury. Sandwich.

Edward Herbert, Esq. Ludlow.

Lord Hinchinbroke. Brackley.

Honourable George Hobart, Esq. Beeralston.

Francis Holbourne, Esq. vice admiral of the red. Dumferling, &c.

Rowland Holt, Esq. Suffolk.

Jacob Houblon, Esq. Hertfordshire.

Honourable Thomas Howard, Esq. Castle Rising.

Thomas Orby Hunter, Esq. Winchelsea.

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John Jolliffe, Esq. Petersfield.

Robert Jones, Esq. Huntingdon.

Anthony James Keck, Esq. Leicester.

Edward Kynaston, Esq. Montgomeryshire.

Peter Legh, Esq. Ilchester.

Marquis of Lorne, a lieutenant general and colonel of the 1st regiment of foot. Dover.

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Sir Herbert Lloyd, bart. Cardigan town.

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Alexander Mackay, Esq. colonel of the 65th regiment of foot, Sutherlandshire.

Right Honourable James Stuart Mackenzie, Esq. Rossshire.

Lord Robert Manners, colonel of the 3d regiment of dragoons and lieutenant governor of Hull. Kingston upon Hull.

John Manners, Esq. Housekeeper at Whitehall. Newark.

Samuel Martyn, Esq. treasurer to the Princess Dowager of Wales. Camelford.

Paul Methuen, Esq. Warwick.

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Thomas Moore Molyneux, Esq., a captain in the 3rd regiment of foot guards. Haslemere.

Honourable Archibald Montgomery, Esq., equerry to the Queen, governor of Dunbarton Castle, & deputy ranger of St. James and Hyde Parks. Airshire.

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Sir Charles Mordaunt, bart. Warwickshire.

John Morton, Esq., chief justice of Chester. Abingdon.

John Mostyn, Esq., groom of the bedchamber to the King, colonel of the 1st regiment of dragoon guards and a lieutenant general. Malton.

Lord Mountstuart. Bossiney.

Richard Neville Neville, Esq. Tavistock.

Sir Roger Newdigate, bart. Oxford University.

Lord North. Banbury.

Sir Fletcher Norton. Wigan.

Right Honourable Robert Nugent, Esq. Bristol.

Edmund Nugent, Esq., groom of the bedchamber to the King, and captain in the 1st regiment of footguards. St. Maws.

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Robert Henley Ongley, Esq. Bedfordshire.

Lord Orwell. Ipswich.

Right Honourable James Oswald, Esq., joint vice treasurer of Ireland, Kinghorn, &c.

Earl of Panmure, a lieutenant general and colonel of the 21st regiment of foot. Forfarshire.

Armstead Parker, Esq., Peterborough.

Thomas Pitt, Esq., Old Sarum.

Sir George Pococke. Admiral of the blue. Plymouth.

George Prescott, Esq. Stockbridge.

George Rice, Esq., a lord of trade. Carmarthenshire.

John Robinson, Esq. Westmoreland.

John Lockhart Ross, a captain of the royal navy. Peebleshire.

Lord George Sackville, joint vice treasurer of Ireland. Hythe.

Honourable Henry St. John, groom of the bedchamber to the Duke of York, and a lieutenant colonel. Wotton Bassett.

Sir John Sebright, bart. a major general and colonel of the 18th regiment of foot. Bath.

Henry Seymour, Esq., groom of the bedchamber to the King. Totness.

Fane William Sharpe, Esq. Callington.

Jennison Shaftoe, Esq. Leominster.

Henry Shiffner, Esq. Minehead.

James Shuttleworth, Esq. Lancashire.

Coningsby Sibthorpe, Esq. Lincoln.

Lord Charles Spencer, verdurer of Whichwood Forest. Oxfordshire.

Right Honourable Hans Stanley, Esq., governor of the Isle of Wight. Southampton.

Sir Thomas Stapleton, bart., Oxford city.

John Stevenson, Esq., a director of the East India company. St. Michael.

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Sir Simeon Stuart, bart. a chamberlain of the Exchequer.
Hampshire.

Lord Strange. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lancashire.

Lord George Sutton. Grantham.

Marquis of Tavistock. Bedfordshire.

Earl of Thomond, Minehead.

Thomas Thoroton, Esq. secretary to the master of the
ordnance. Newark.

John Pugh Pryse, Esq. Cardiganshire.

Edward Thurlowe, Esq., King's counsel. Tamworth.

Honourable Henry Frederick Thynne. Weobly.

Sir John Turner, bart. King's Lynn.

Sir Charles Kemys Tynte. Somersetshire.

Arthur Vansittart, Esq. Berkshire.

Richard Vernon, Esq. Bedford.

John Upton, Esq. Westmoreland.

Charles Walcott, Esq. Weymouth and Melcombe.

Robert Waller, Esq. Chipping Wycomb.

John Rolle Walter, Esq. Exeter.

Henry Wauchope, Esq. deputy privy purpose to His
Majesty. Bute and Caithness.

Honourable John Ward, Esq. Worcestershire.

Lord Warkworth, aid-de-camp to the King. Westminster.

Philip Carteret Webb, Esq. Haslemere.

Alexander Wedderburn, King's counsel. Rothesay, &c.

Thomas Whately, Esq. Luggershall.

Honourable Thomas Willoughby, Esq. Nottinghamshire.

Sir Armine Wodehouse, bart. Norfolk.

Robert Wood, Esq., Brackley.

167 Thomas Worsley, Esq., surveyor of the board of
works, Oxford.

168 Right Honourable Richard Rigby, Esq., teller.
Tavistock.



FRANKLIN SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

FRANKLIN THE PATRIOT: AT HOME

EVERY properly brought up individual in the United States knows the resolutions of Richard Henry Lee, introduced at the meeting of the Continental Congress, June 7, 1776.

“That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved.

“That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances.

“That a plan of confederation be prepared, and transmitted to the respective colonies for their consideration and approbation.”

While the delegates were awaiting instructions from their various colonies as to what they should do concerning these resolutions, it was deemed advisable to set a committee to work drafting a paper declaring the colonies independent, in case such a declaration should need to be used. On this committee were Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Robert R. Livingston and Roger Sherman.

Shortly before this time Franklin's health had suffered greatly, partly as the result of an exhausting journey he had made to Canada, the fatigues of which would have wearied a younger man. To make it more trying still, the perilous pilgrimage had after all been fruitless, for Canada declined to join the colonies against Great Britain. Rest at home had to a great extent restored Franklin's health, and he was able again to carry on his thousand activities on behalf of Pennsyl-

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vania and the other colonies. His firm belief in independence he expressed emphatically and in his own characteristic fashion. Formerly he had franked his letters: "Free, B. Franklin"; he now enjoyed inscribing them, "B free Franklin." One of his memorable sayings was: "Those who would give up essential liberty for a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

As is well known, the Declaration of Independence was drafted by Jefferson. Franklin and John Adams made a few verbal changes, which may be seen in their writing on the document. Franklin himself, though abler with his pen than any of his fellow-countrymen, never drafted a state paper which was really famous. His biographer, Parton, says:

"He would have put a joke into the Declaration of Independence if it had fallen to him to write it. At this time, he was a humorist of fifty years' standing. Franklin had become fixed in the habit of illustrating great truths by grotesque and familiar similes. His jokes, the circulating medium of Congress, were as helpful to the cause as Jay's conscience or Adams's fire; they restored good humor, and relieved the tedium of delay, but were out of place in formal, exact, and authoritative papers."

One famous occasion when his humor relieved the tension was the time during the debate in Congress when Jefferson sat beside him, "writhing under the mutilations" being perpetrated by the delegates, as he felt, on his paper. "I have made it a rule," said Franklin to Jefferson, "whenever in my power, to avoid becoming the draftsman of papers to be reviewed by a public body." Then he told him the well-known story of his friend who started out with the sign, "John Thompson, Hatter, makes and sells Hats for ready money," with a figure of a hat subjoined. By taking the advice of his friends, he ultimately had nothing left of his sign but "John Thompson," with the figure of the hat.

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Franklin was wont to relieve the weariness of long-drawn-out discussions by introducing a little fun. One of his jokes, when a public matter had grown tedious, was as follows:

“I begin to be a little of the sailor’s mind when they were handing a cable out of a store into a ship, and one of ’em said: ‘ ’Tis a long, heavy cable. I wish we could see the end of it.’ ‘——,’ says another, ‘if I believe it has any end; somebody has cut it off!’ ”

Americans of a later date, to whom the fortunate outcome of the planning of the Continental Congress is an old story, can hardly realize what a serious moment it was when the time arrived for signing the Declaration. The arguments of John Dickinson and others were too numerous and strong to be entirely forgotten. As the members were about to sign, tradition tells us that Hancock said, “We must be unanimous; there must be no pulling different ways; we must all hang together,” and that Franklin seized this excellent opportunity to make the grimly witty response, “Yes; we must indeed hang together, or, most assuredly we shall all hang separately!”

Franklin signed his name with that gay flourish with which he commonly decorated his autograph. The signature is very well written. It stands third in the fourth column of names, but the arrangement is such as to throw no light on the question of who signed first after Hancock.

The real date of the signing of the famous instrument has been the subject of much discussion. Passages from the writings of Adams, Franklin and Jefferson can be quoted, which point to July 4 as the date. McKean is equally definite in saying that nobody signed that day. John H. Hazelton, the author of *The Declaration of Independence, Its History*, and other authorities who have weighed the evidence on this point, have shown that on July 4 the declaration was adopted, that on July 19 Congress resolved “that the declaration passed

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on the 4th be fairly engrossed on parchment," and that on August 2 it was signed by most of the members. The Journal of Congress records for August 2,

"The declaration of independance being enerossed & compared at the table was signed." (The spelling follows the original.)

Some of the names to be seen on the parchment document in the State Department at Washington were added after August 2; McKean, Thornton, Gerry, Wolcott and a number of others were not present at the formal signing.

The painting shows Franklin just affixing his signature to the Declaration of Independence, while some of the other signers stand or sit near. Reading from left to right, the portraits are those of:

Lyman Hall of Georgia.

Charles Thompson, secretary of the Continental Congress, whose signature does not appear on the parchment Declaration.

Samuel Huntington of Connecticut.

William Whipple of New Hampshire.

William Paca of Maryland.

Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, the writer of the instrument.

John Hancock (in the Speaker's chair) of Massachusetts, president of the Continental Congress.

Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania.

John Adams (seated) of Massachusetts, on the committee which drew up the Declaration, and its chief defender in the debates over it.

Edward Rutledge of South Carolina.

William Ellery of Rhode Island.

Philip Livingston (seated) of New York.

Francis Hopkinson of New Jersey.

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Joseph Hewes of North Carolina.

Cæsar Rodney (seated) of Delaware.

These men were among those who almost certainly signed August 2, 1776.

Even a casual glance reveals the individuality in all these faces; a second look discovers how successfully the artist has painted the features and expressions which are to most Americans like those of familiar friends. Nearly all the faces show something of the anxiety and hard thought which the adoption of the Declaration brought with it. Franklin's expression, on the other hand, is indicative of the easy good-nature with which even in somewhat broken health he was accustomed to face all events, even the most critical. The average age of these men at the time of signing was about forty years; Rutledge was only about twenty-seven, Jefferson about thirty-three, and Franklin about seventy.

The scene is in the Old State House, now Independence Hall. Mr. Mills has shown it as it looks since its recent restoration. Fortunately the original plans were available, so that the hall in all its detail now looks as it did in Franklin's time. The silver inkstand, desk and chair are still carefully preserved, and the artist made a minute study of their measurements and patterns, and has reproduced them with absolute correctness, as well as every pilaster, base and moulding in this part of the finely ornamented old room. The inkstand was originally used by the Pennsylvania Assembly. At the signing of the Constitution of the United States, the same table was used, and the little painting on the back of the chair, which Mr. Mills has reproduced, acquired a significance of its own. The Constitution had at last been drafted and was to be signed. Madison tells us that when some members were signing, Franklin said:

"I have often and often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at

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that behind the president, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun.”

There are three other paintings of the signing of the Declaration of Independence: one by Robert Edge Pine, completed by Edward Savage; one by Jonathan Trumbull, and one by a French artist, Demarest. All three pictures are very inaccurate as regards detail.



FRANKLIN SIGNING THE TREATY OF ALLIANCE

FRANKLIN THE DIPLOMATIST: IN FRANCE

FROM the beginning of the colonists' difficulties with the mother country it was a question in the minds of many whether, if a war should ensue, the Americans could stand out against Great Britain. At this time France had just (1763) ceded to Great Britain Canada and other valuable possessions, and her ancient dislike of England was by this loss naturally intensified. As a matter of course, many colonists thought of France as a possible helper. There were in France, moreover, statesmen who, at the first hint of war here, eagerly anticipated the likelihood that Great Britain's strength might be reduced. They were willing enough to secure for France the rich colonial trade which had hitherto been England's, and favored every measure which might help bring about her loss of the American colonies. "I fancy," Franklin prophesied, "that intriguing nations would like very well to meddle on occasion, and would blow up the coals between Britain and her colonies." The Comte de Vergennes, the minister for foreign affairs, was very eager to see an alliance made with the colonies.

The Continental Congress appointed a secret committee which should cautiously correspond with friends in several countries of Europe, particularly in France. As the result of their operations, very welcome shiploads of supplies were surreptitiously sent to the colonies. The most important member of the Committee of Correspondence was Franklin. Shortly after the Declaration of Independence was signed, Congress appointed (September 26, 1776) Franklin, Jefferson and Silas Deane as agents to represent the colonies at the court of France. Jefferson's place, because of his wife's illness, was taken by Arthur Lee. Silas Deane was a Connecti-

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cut man. Arthur Lee, of Virginia, was a brother of Richard Henry Lee. "I am old, and good for nothing," Franklin said with regard to his own appointment, "but as the storekeepers say of their remnants of cloth, I am but a fag end; you may have me for what you please."

This "fag end" was already of great reputation in France. Even the peasantry knew of his feats with lightning, and had seen pages of the French version of *Poor Richard's Almanac*, which were sometimes posted up in their cottages. He received an affectionate welcome, which proved the introduction to a sort of idolatry which lasted throughout his French sojourn. He was "the venerable sage," who, "with his gray hairs flowing down upon his shoulders, his staff in his hand, the spectacles of wisdom on his nose, was the perfect picture of true philosophy and virtue." In an incredibly short time every home had its portrait of "le grand Franklin"; every snuff-box had his face on the cover. He was equally admired by philosophers and scholars, by courtiers and ladies of rank and fashion. He was invariably a good companion, they found, and as witty as they had expected "Poor Richard" to be. As a man he resembled in many points the gifted Frenchmen of his time; for instance, Voltaire or Beaumarchais. He was equally distinguished in every-day matters of business, and in literature and science. The fact that he possessed all this versatility in spite of old age was interesting to his new friends. He appealed greatly to the imagination of the French; certain details, like his wearing of an unfashionable fur cap, spoke to them of the frontier, red Indians and pathless forests. They were pleased to think of him as a naive philosopher who had lived near to nature, and who was now almost single-handed wresting liberty from the tyrant for his people in the western wilderness. Liberty was a beloved word; a dozen years later came the French Revolution.

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Dinners and week-end visits occupied much of Franklin's time. His house at Passy, a suburb of Paris, was noted for its hospitality. It was well that the old man could have some gaiety in his life. His old enemy, the gout, which had begun about 1749, often tormented him. His work as diplomat was manifold: he was "merchant, banker, judge of admiralty, consul, director of the navy, ambassador to France and negotiator with England for the exchange of prisoners." In the American outlook there was for some time little to cheer him. Sympathetic as France was, she feared to take the field openly against Great Britain until either Spain had joined her or she had been able to strengthen her own forces, or until the colonists had succeeded in somewhat weakening England. Tremendous enterprises were undertaken in France for the help of American independence, but, since every appearance of friendliness with England had to be maintained, the most elaborate precautions had to be resorted to in order to keep these undertakings secret. Supplies, for instance, were regularly contributed from the king's government, but they were shipped as merchandise by a business firm, "Hortales et Cie.," which existed merely for this purpose.

There were other difficulties. Congress did not, or could not, organize the embassy in any satisfactory way. This fact, and the extreme secrecy which must be maintained, made an orderly conduct of affairs complicated. Among the agents and other Americans who were awaiting in Paris an opportunity to represent the new republic at other courts, there grew up a deplorable spirit. Some of the suspicions voiced at that bewildering time were not laid to rest for many years, and some of the acts of injustice committed could be only tardily and imperfectly rectified. Franklin had to endure endless interference and abuse at the hands of some of the agents. In judging of this time, however, it should be remembered that these men were working in the dark, and facing

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personal ruin as well as the discomfiture of their country. Undoubtedly Lee's uncomfortable disposition would unavoidably have embroiled his associates; still, there may sometimes have been just a grain of reason at the foundation of his suspicions. M. de Rayneval's criticisms were harsh, but may have had some warrant.

"I am sorry to be obliged to add, monseigneur," he says in writing to Vergennes, "that personal disinterestedness and pecuniary integrity have shed no lustre on the birth of the American Republic. All its agents have derived exorbitant profit from manufactures. A selfish and calculating spirit is widespread in this land and although I can well see that limits are put to its extension, there is no condemnation of the sentiment. Mercantile cupidity forms perhaps one of the distinctive traits of the American, especially the northern people, and will undoubtedly exercise an important influence on the future destiny of the republic."

As a matter of fact, the perplexing circumstances made it impossible to judge fairly of a man's disinterestedness. Doubtless many were more truly patriotic than the evidence seemed to indicate. These were times when men sometimes laid down their reputations for their country instead of their lives. A diplomatic circle had as many perils as a battle-field.

The military losses in America added to the unhappiness of the agents. Only Franklin's popularity could have obtained the needful loans and ammunition from the king's government. When Washington had lost everywhere, and when Howe and Burgoyne were about to cut the country in two with their well-equipped expeditions, the disagreements of the agents were lost in a general feeling of despair. No French alliance seemed possible.

"Howe has taken Philadelphia," said some one who had heard the sad rumor.

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"I beg your pardon, sir," corrected Franklin, keeping up a courageous front to the last. "Philadelphia has taken Howe!" He hoped his words might prove true. It really turned out that Howe was shut up in Philadelphia for some months.

One day a young messenger from Massachusetts stepped out of a carriage at the door of Franklin's house at Passy. The agents were talking in the courtyard. Franklin went to meet him, with the all-important question:

"*Is Philadelphia taken?*"

"Yes, sir," said Austin.

Upon hearing this, Dr. Franklin clasped his hands, and turned as if to go back into the house.

"But, sir," said Austin, "I have greater news than that. General Burgoyne and his whole army are prisoners of war!"

"For months after this," Austin says, "Dr. Franklin would break from one of those musings in which it was his habit to indulge, and, clasping his hands together, exclaim, 'Oh, Mr. Austin, you brought us glorious news!'"

These tidings arrived December 3, 1777. There was rejoicing in France as over a French victory. There was now little doubt that, if France were openly in the field beside her, the young republic could bring the war to a successful termination. "Now is the time to act," said the Comte de Vergennes, "*aut nunc aut nunquam*; the lost time was perhaps not our fault, but there is no more now to lose." The discussion of details was made as short as possible, and the "treaties of commerce and alliance" were signed on the sixth of February, 1778.

On this triumphant day, Franklin wore, we are told, the same coat of spotted Manchester velvet which he had last worn on the most humiliating day of his life, four years before, the day of the hearing before the Privy Council of England. Matters relative to letters written by Governor

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Hutchinson had led to an inquiry. Wedderburn, the Solicitor General, accused Franklin of obtaining these letters by dishonest means and of using them dishonorably, and made the occasion an excuse for pouring forth upon Franklin invective that is almost unbelievable. Through all the slanderous accusations and insults, some of which are said to have been considered unprintable, Franklin stood near the fireplace, "conspicuously erect, without the smallest movement of any part of his body." He was absolutely silent, and his face was as immovable as if it had been carved out of wood. After the hearing he left the Cockpit, as the place of meeting was called, still silent. Horace Walpole's epigram concerning this affair of the Cockpit is worth knowing:

"Sarcastic Sawney, swol'n with spite and prate
On silent Franklin poured his venal hate.
The calm philosopher, without reply,
Withdrew, and gave his country liberty."

This incident permanently "changed the American sentiment toward him [Franklin] from lukewarm admiration to inflamed respect, enthusiasm, and affection."

The story has it, that after this affair of the Cockpit, Franklin was never seen to wear the Manchester velvet coat again until the time came to sign the treaty of alliance with France. Some doubt has been cast on the story, apparently because of a tradition that Franklin wore this coat at the signing of the treaty of peace which ended the Revolutionary War (in 1783). At this time he seems undoubtedly to have worn black, but there is no reasonable ground for doubting that Franklin wore this velvet coat both at the Cockpit and at the signing of the treaty of alliance. When asked for his reason for this by one of the Americans in Paris, he smiled and said nothing. There is a tradition that Deane inquired why he wore this coat, and that Franklin replied, "To give it its revenge."

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This painting shows the signing of the treaty of alliance between the united colonies and France, February 6, 1778.

The portraits, from left to right, are:

William Temple Franklin, Benjamin Franklin's grandson, present as his private secretary.

M. Conrad Alexandre Gerard de Rayneval (seated), secretary of the council, who signed on the part of the king.

Franklin, Arthur Lee and Silas Deane, the three representatives of the colonies at the court of France.

William Temple Franklin, at this time about nineteen or twenty, was the son of Benjamin Franklin's son William, the governor of New Jersey. He sympathized enthusiastically with the cause of the colonies, although Governor Franklin, greatly to his father's sorrow, sided with the king. "Temple Franklin" was a favorite with his grandfather, who educated him at a school near London, and had him with him at Passy. "My grandson," he said in a letter, "whom you may remember when a saucy boy at school, is my amanuensis."

M. de Rayneval was of an Alsatian family, and was, according to John Durand, endowed with a philosophic mind, great tact and much sagacity. He was the first minister to the United States from France. There is a portrait of him in Independence Hall, which was painted by C. W. Peale at the request of Congress.

The actual table on which the signing of the treaty took place is depicted here. It is still preserved at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris. The rest of the furniture and fittings in the room conform to the French fashions of the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Franklin is represented without a wig. Although earlier in life he had worn the regulation wig, in France we hear of "his straight unpowdered hair." "Franklin appeared at court in the dress of an American farmer," wrote Mme. Campan. Doubtless his was, as she said, in "singular contrast with the

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laced and embroidered coats, &c. of the courtiers of Versailles.” In the latter part of his life Franklin, although in general well-formed, was inclined somewhat to corpulency. For the color of the Manchester velvet coat which he wore at the signing of this treaty, the artist was able to procure a sample in Paris, where there were records of his dress on this occasion.

The faces in this painting are studied with care from authentic portraits. Arthur Lee wears a dissatisfied look as if still nervously anxious over the much-debated “molasses article” in the treaty.



FRANKLIN'S FINAL HOME-COMING

FRANKLIN'S FINAL HOME-COMING

AFTER the signing of the treaty of alliance, Franklin continued in France about seven years. It was fortunate for the world that this could be, for he played a valuable part in drafting the treaty of peace which closed our Revolutionary War, and in reconciling the British and French representatives to its terms.

In a treaty with Prussia (1785), through the influence of Franklin there were incorporated, says J. W. Foster, two advanced principles of international law, the abolition of privateering and the exemption in war of private property at sea. This has been called "the best lesson of humanity which a philosophical king (Frederick II) acting in concert with a philosophical patriot (Franklin), could possibly give to the princes and statesmen of the earth."

Franklin was uninterruptedly a favorite with the French court. Among the agents from America he had enemies who tried repeatedly to persuade Congress to recall him. But Congress appreciated that he was doing what no other man could do, paid no heed to his traducers and refused his own requests to be relieved of the hard work. At last, in 1785, when he was in his eightieth year, the burden of his diplomatic and social duties in Paris seemed to him too heavy to be borne longer, and he succeeded in getting his release. Thomas Jefferson took up the diplomatic duties at Paris. "It is you, sir, who replace Dr. Franklin?" people used to ask on being introduced to him, and he often replied, "No one can replace him, sir, I am only his successor."

The malady from which Franklin had suffered many years made travel very painful, but in a litter belonging to Queen

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Marie Antoinette, carried by two large mules, he managed (July, 1785) to make the journey to the coast. Ovation after ovation greeted "le grand Franklin" along the road.

At Havre de Grâce he embarked for England. Of the crossing of the Channel he writes: "I was not in the least inconvenienced by the voyage, but my children were very sick." The "children" were his two favorite grandsons, William Temple Franklin and Benjamin Franklin Bache. "Temple Franklin," the son of Gov. William Franklin of New Jersey, had been his private secretary in Paris. For him he had ambitions for a career as diplomatist and statesman, which were not realized. Benjamin Franklin Bache was the son of his daughter, Sarah, and Richard Bache of Philadelphia. He was the "Little King Bird" and the "Bunny Boy" of Franklin's correspondence while he was in London. During his residence in France he had had Ben at school in Geneva, and the boy had often visited him at Passy. After his return to America he set him up in the printer's trade. For both these grandsons he had a warm affection.

While waiting at Southampton for his ship, Franklin received visits from many English friends and admirers. He embarked July 27 on board the *London Packet*, a Philadelphia vessel commanded by Capt. Thomas Truxton. By September 13 the ship was in Delaware Bay.

"With the flood in the morning," says Franklin's diary, "came a light breeze, which brought us above Gloucester Point, in full view of dear Philadelphia! when we again cast anchor to wait for the health officer; who, having made his visit, and finding no sickness, gave us leave to land. My son-in-law came with a boat for us; we landed at Market Street wharf, where we were received by a crowd of people with huzzas, and accompanied with acclamations quite to my door. Found my family well. God be praised and thanked for all his mercies!"

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Franklin lived for about four years after returning to America. His wife, who, despite all urging, had never been willing to brave the perils of an ocean voyage, had died in 1774 during her husband's agency in England. His sister Jane, Mrs. Mecom, he found overjoyed at his return. He made his home with his daughter "Sally" and her family, having regained "his niche after being kept out of it twenty-four years by foreign employment." "I . . . am again surrounded by my friends, with a large family of grandchildren about my knees, an affectionate, good daughter and son-in-law to take care of me."

He had hoped when he sailed for home to enjoy undisturbed domestic quiet. "I did my last public act in the country" [signing the Prussian treaty in France], he said, "just before I set out. I have continued to work till late in the day; 'tis time I should go home to bed." But a very important duty still awaited him. The United States Constitution, which should ensure the permanence of the work done by Washington, Franklin and the other patriots, was still to be written and adopted. In spite of weariness and physical suffering, Franklin served in the Federal Convention, lending a guiding hand at many critical moments. His great contribution was the suggestion that the lower house in Congress should represent the nation according to population, but that in the senate each state should have equal representation. "When a broad table is to be made," he said, "and the edges of the planks do not fit, the artist takes a little from both, and makes a good joint." Without this compromise probably no federal union would have been possible. Moreover, probably the members would not have all signed the Constitution, had it not been for Franklin's speech, asserting that with all its shortcomings this Constitution was better than none; quoting the woman who said, "I don't know how it happens, sister, but I meet with nobody but myself that is always in

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the right"; and reminding the members of their enemies who were confidently expecting "to hear that our councils are confounded like those of the builders of Babel, and that our States are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats."

The Constitution was unanimously adopted September 17, 1787.

Franklin died April 17, 1790. Till the very end of his days he continued to be sunny, active in mind and brimful of humor and wisdom. Even paroxysms of pain only temporarily interrupted the characteristic anecdotes with which he entertained his friends. When moderately comfortable, he talked over public matters, heard his grandchildren say their spelling lessons, or wrote letters to his friends abroad. He lived to see the beginning of the French Revolution, and to feel some anxiety for his friends in France. It is noteworthy that, even in the excitements of the revolution, France went into mourning for Dr. Franklin.

"I have public business enough to keep me from ennui," wrote the old philosopher, "and private amusement besides in conversation, books, my garden, and cribbage. . . . I have indeed now and then a little compunction in reflecting that I spend time so idly; but another reflection comes to relieve me, whispering, 'You know that the soul is immortal; why then should you be such a niggard, of a little time, when you have a whole eternity before you?' . . . The last hours are always the most joyous."

The last picture of Mr. Mills's series shows the final homecoming of Franklin after his long diplomatic service. During the twenty-four years which, except for a short stay in America, he had been away, he had wrought great things for the united colonies. Now, in his eightieth year, he comes back to his own people. The old philosopher and statesman stands

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erect in a rowboat, with his hat in his hand and his face uplifted to receive the grateful ovations of the crowds that fill Market Street wharf and the neighboring shipping. The boatman is just bringing the dory up to the dock. Behind Franklin sits his son-in-law, Richard Bache, holding a strong-box. In the background is a ship, possibly the one which Franklin has just left. The ships are of the type commonly seen at this period.

In none of the series has Mr. Mills better shown the grandeur and dignity of Franklin than in this painting. To one who had spent nine years in attendance on the Bourbon court of France, the reception accorded him on his return to Philadelphia must have seemed simple and democratic in the extreme. But Franklin felt the sincerity of it, and saw its homely beauty. Mr. Mills has well expressed the aged man's joy in this outburst of affection. One cannot look upon his serenely happy face without knowing that the shouts of his neighbors and fellow-citizens meant far more to the old patriot than all the applause that had been given him so lavishly by the gay court of Louis XVI.

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